# MODERN LANGUAGE QUARTERLY

June, 1956

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#### ROMAIN ROLLAND AND THOMAS HARDY

#### By WILLIAM T. STARR

When one thinks of Romain Rolland and his novels and biographies. one thinks first of all perhaps of Beethoven, then possibly of Wagner, and surely of Tolstoy. France, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland figure in Jean-Christophe and L'Ame enchantée. Both novels are pervaded by a certain ideal and atmosphere of internationalism. It is surprising then that England played apparently no role in either novel. But this does not mean that English writers and intellectuals were unimportant in the evolution of Rolland's art. To be sure, his opinion of the English as a whole was not, as we hope to show in another article, entirely favorable at all times. However, the author of Jean-Christophe had early learned to distinguish between the nation and

the individuals who compose it.

Whatever his errors of judgment may have been, they were based on wide reading and experience. In spite of the multifold tasks he assumed in the course of his university career, he read avidly, and he was well acquainted with English literature. His absorbing interest in Shakespeare, who was his constant companion, hindered his success in the competitive examination for the École Normale Supérieure. Besides the Elizabethans, whom he knew well, he was acquainted with Milton, Dickens, Thackeray, and Fielding-to name but a few. Some of his reading was done in English-more, however, in French translations. He mentions, for example, having read Schwob's translation of Moll Flanders (letter to Mlle Madeleine Rolland, Oct. 15, 1916), and he read Bernard Shaw in the translation by Augustin and Henriette Hamon.

By 1914 he had decided that the greatest contemporary English novelists were Arnold Bennett (whom he praised for making the true France known abroad), H. G. Wells, and John Galsworthy. He did not include Thomas Hardy at this time because he considered the author of Jude the Obscure as belonging to the past.1 However, of the four, Hardy was perhaps the one that he had first come to know and to admire. In 1896-1897, Madeleine Rolland had translated Tess of the D'Urbervilles; Rolland's ties with his sister were so close that he surely read the novel at that time. He wrote, February 24, 1897, to Malwida von Meysenbug that he was helping to find a publisher.2 In June of that year the translation appeared as a serial in the Journal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> In a letter to Louis Gillet, Jan. 16, 1914, in Correspondance entre Louis Gillet et Romain Rolland (Paris, 1949), pp. 267-69. Rolland paid a visit to Hardy in 1923, when he went to London for a meeting of the P.E.N. Club. See his account in n. 4 below.

des Débats, and almost caused a lawsuit when a French journalist claimed to have received the exclusive translation rights. Rolland advised and helped his sister in the arbitration proceedings, and her

translation was published by Hachette in 1901.

Rolland noted, with some pleasure, that his sister was among the first to translate Hardy into French.8 He was especially fond of Tess of the D'Urbervilles, which he considered the best English novel of its time, as he wrote to Mme Bertolini, February 3, 1905:

Connaissez-vous Tess d'Urberville [sic] du romancier anglais Thomas Hardy? Si vous ne l'avez pas lu, demandez-le donc, je vous prie. C'est pour moi (avec quelques défauts) le plus beau roman anglais de cette génération, et si différent du genre de Dickens, Thackeray, etc. Vrai, libre, pur, serein et triste.

Between 1914 and 1923, Rolland reread some or all of Hardy's works, and his renewed admiration now caused him to place the English writer among the greatest of the English moderns. "Il est, à l'heure actuelle, le plus grand écrivain anglais, le seul qui soit universellement reconnu...et le seul créateur vivant, avec Carl Spitteler, d'une vaste épopée de l'âme du monde moderne et de ses destinées."4 Rolland was probably referring to the Dynasts. He understood, he continued, why Hardy had turned almost exclusively to poetry, although he himself had made only one moderately successful attempt (an Ode to Peace, somewhat in the style of Paul Claudel or Paul Fort: "Ara Pacis," written in the first years of the war of 1914-1918). "L'âge des romans est loin," he wrote about Hardy in the same article, "on sent qu'il est devenu étranger (comme il est naturel) à ces êtres sortis de lui, qui continuent maintenant leur vie dans des milliers d'autres cœurs. Nul ne comprend ce sentiment d'éloignement mieux que l'auteur de Jean-Christophe." Rolland felt that Hardy turned to poetry because of his greater experience and a feeling of estrangement from his creations. A great poem, with its symbolic procedures, would enable him to express more of what he felt in his heart.

Of Hardy's novels, Jude the Obscure was perhaps his favorite. Rolland confided to Professor J. W. Klein, of the University of London, that he loved this novel very much, and that the death of Sylvie's little daughter Odette, in L'Ame enchantée (II: L'Été [Paris, 1923], 205-11), is a reminiscence of the death of the children of Jude Fawley and Sue Phillotson (the older brother had first hanged the other children and then himself).5 It is a reminiscence.

(Paris, 1935).

<sup>6</sup> Letter to J. W. Klein, in Klein, "Romain Rolland," Music and Letters. V

(1944), 13-22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Letter to Mile von Meysenbug, June 23, 1897, ibid., pp. 209-11. Mathilde Zeys translated Far from the Madding Crowd under the title Barbara, and Firmin Roz, Jude the Obscure, both in 1901.

<sup>4</sup> Rolland, "Une Réunion internationale des écrivains," Rassegna internazionale, V (June-July, 1923), 632-42. He also published this account of the P.E.N. meeting and his address under the same title in Europe, II (June-Sept., 1932) (1932). 1923), 102-106, later included in an abridged version in his Quinze and de combat

not an imitation; Sylvie's daughter fell, or jumped, from an upperstory window. Rolland leaves it unclear, purposefully I think, as to whether it was an accident or impulse. In the light of the above statement the case for suicide is strong. It appears even more probable when one considers the numerous suicides in Rolland's works. Christophe as a boy thought of suicide by jumping from an upstairs window. Olivier and Antoinette both thought of this mode of escape in Antoinette (Jean-Christophe [Paris, 1950], p. 871); Françoise Oudon, telling Christophe about her life, said that she as a little girl, revolted by the injustices, violence, and misery around her, had tried to hang herself (ibid., p. 1167); Anna Braun (Le Buisson ardent, ibid., p. 1371) confided to Christophe that she had jumped from a second-story window as a dare to herself. Aërt, in the play by that name (1898), committed suicide by throwing himself out of a window. Adam Lux, in Le Triomphe de la raison (1899), stabbed himself to death.6 We may also recall the statements Rolland made in Le Voyage intérieur (p. 130) and Souvenirs de jeunesse (p. 13) as to how close he had come to suicide during the first years of his stay in Paris as a boy of fifteen. The temptation to jump from an upstairs window was strong.

There are what seem to be other reminiscences of Hardy's novel in Jean-Christophe. Christophe (pp. 610-11) tried to attract the attention of Lorchen, the pretty farm girl, and her companions, who were washing clothes in the river, and was well splashed for his pains. To be sure it was part of a freshly slaughtered pig, not water, that Arabella threw at Jude (Jude the Obscure, Anniversary Edition, III, 41-42), but the two incidents are remarkably similar. Another echo is to be found in the visit of young Christophe to the musician Hassler.7 Jude too, although older than Christophe, impressed by the music of a local composer and perplexed by the tangled threads of his relations with Arabella, his wife, and Sue Phillotson, his love, determined to go to the musician for counsel. The latter, misled by Jude's appearance, received him well at first, but talked principally about money, and then became cold and brusque upon discovering Jude's poverty. Hassler too quenched the hopes of Christophe by his indifference. The effect on Jude was hardly as great as on Christophe, for the latter visited his idol for encouragement in the art that was a bond between them.

There are other points of similarity between the two writers.

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting to note that in Rolland's works after the First World War and the Russian Revolution no suicides occur, and that only one person feels the desire or need to destroy himself.

desire or need to destroy himself.

Tean-Christophe, III: La Révolte, appeared first in the Cahiers de la Quinzaine, Dec. 11, 1906, although it may have been written long before. Rolland insists that some of the later volumes of the novel were partially composed long before they were published. It is scarcely necessary to point out the similarity of Christophe's visit to Hassler with that of the fifteen-year-old Hugo Wolf to Richard Wagner. Indeed, Rolland's account of Wolf's visit (Revue de Paris, May 15, 1905, pp. 401-402) reads like the first writing of the incident in the novel

Hardy's conception of man as the instrument of the groping and blundering Immanent Will, his idea that an All-Pervading Power, neither good nor evil, but uncertain and capricious, dominates human life, is similar to Rolland's views, although in Jean-Christophe, if not in L'Ame enchantée, this will is a sort of life force which works itself out principally in the hero.8 The protagonists rise above the flaws and defects of their character and heredity; every circumstance, even adverse, seems to help their advance. And within man himself perhaps is the means for breaking the iron bonds of destiny: his spiritual nature.9 On the contrary, many of Hardy's characters, like Jude Fawley, make great efforts to raise themselves to a higher level, but find themselves frustrated by the irresistible need to assuage their appetites and instincts. It is not that Rolland's characters do not have these same appetites and do not succumb to them, but that their lives are enriched rather than wrecked by these experiences. For Rolland, too, events were illusory; the reality was the hidden power.

But the mysterious working of the soul takes place in the midst of chaos and ruins. I am never troubled by the tragic and sneering spectacle of appearances. Under this inflated veil which is about to burst, I feel the roaring breath of a superhuman fate. And this fate itself is but the envelope of fire wrapping eternal Peace.10

Both men, with some reason, have been called pessimists. Rolland, however, like Christophe in answer to Olivier's question "La vie . . . qu'est-ce que la vie?" exclaims: "Une tragédie. Hourrah!" (Dans la maison, ibid., p. 1072). And, as he wrote in his Vie de Michel-Ange (Cahiers de la Quinzaine, Ser. 7, cahier 18 [1906], pp. 10-11), the true heroism is to see life as it is, clearly and without illusions, and still love it. Abel Chevalley insists that Hardy is not a pessimist but a "counter-illusionist" who insists on seeing life perfectly clearly. 11 The passion for truth, in their own lives and in their creations, is an essential quality of the two writers.12 Love for nature, so clearly visible in Hardy's novels, was a love that was shared also by Rolland -although it is perhaps less apparent in his works. One may remember, however, the Rhine, the Swiss Alps, and the Roman campagna in Jean-Christophe, many pages of Colas Breugnon, and his letters to Malwida von Meysenbug.18 He confided to René

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See E. A. McCourt, "Thomas Hardy and War," Dalhousie Review, XX (1940), 227-34; Rolland, "Par delà," Quadrige, No. 2 (Aug.-Sept., 1945), 7 ff. (text of 1926); and Rolland, "Ara Pacis," Les Précurseurs (Paris, 1919), pp.

<sup>9</sup> Rolland, Clerambault (Paris, 1920), p. 280; Rolland, Journal des années de

guerre (Paris, 1952), p. 35.

10 Letter to Rabindranath Tagore, Dec. 22, 1922; published in Rolland and Tagore, cd. Aronson and Kripalani (Calcutta, 1945), p. 34.

11 Abel Chevalley, "Thomas Hardy," Revue de Paris, Feb. 1, 1928, pp. 697-708.

12 Alfred Colling, Le Romancier de la fatalité: Thomas Hardy (Paris, 1938),

<sup>18</sup> Choix de lettres à Malwida von Meysenbug (Paris, 1948), passim.

Arcos that "la montagne et les paysages alpestres avaient été pour lui une révélation aussi considérable que celle de la musique." <sup>14</sup> Heroic pessimism, a passion for truth, a lucid view of life and the world, proud solitude, and a need for solitude—these are traits of temperament common to both. In fact, Rolland remarks on these characteristics of Hardy.

Dans les premières années d'après la guerre, la grande génération des héros de l'esprit, qui s'étaient accomodés, comme Spitteler et Thomas Hardy, de la fière solitude et du pessimisme héroïque aux yeux vaillants, fixant en face la tragique réalité et n'espérant point la transformer, subit un discrédit rancunier. ... Jamais Stockholm, si prodigue de son prix Nobel, ne consentit à le donner à Thomas Hardy. 15

Nor must we forget the important role of love in the works—and lives—of these men. As Colling says, Eustacia Vye's prayer, transposed somewhat: "Oh God, send me a great love or I shall die," could have been Hardy's prayer. It could perhaps have been Rolland's also. In Jean-Christophe, Marthe, the aunt of Jacqueline, Olivier's future wife, pointed out to her niece that to love was to receive a gift from Heaven: "On n'aime pas, dit-elle. On veut aimer. Aimer est une grâce de Dieu, la plus grande. Prie-le qu'il te le fasse" (Les Amies, pp. 1111-12).

We have endeavored to show that Rolland's admiration for Hardy was great, and that he was attracted to the writings of the English novelist because of various similarities of temperament. Rolland undoubtedly assimilated what his own robust temperament found congenial and helpful. He read, not only for information, but also for self-discovery. "On ne lit jamais un livre. On se lit à travers les livres, soit pour se découvrir, soit pour se contrôler" (Le Voyage intérieur, pp. 42-43). For this reason Hardy's writings must have been of considerable inspiration for him.

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15 L'Ame enchantée (Paris, 1951), p. 1175.

16 Colling, p. 222.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> René Arcos, "Romain Rolland," La Pensée, N.S., No. 4 (July-Sept., 1945), pp. 29-39.

#### QUEVEDO, LOPE, AND THE ROYAL WEDDING OF 1615

#### By JAMES O. CROSBY

Early in October, 1615, the Spanish Court traveled to Burgos to witness the marriage of Princess Anne of Austria, Philip III's daughter, to the young King Louis XIII of France. This ceremony was part of a double state wedding projected several years previously: on the day of the Burgos ceremony, Princess Isabelle of France was to marry Crown Prince Philip of Spain in Bordeaux. At each of these weddings the royal grooms were to be represented by proxies; in Burgos the Duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite and prime minister, represented Louis XIII. The wedding was the occasion of a week of formal processions, state banquets, tourneys, bullfights, balls, and masquerades. At these brilliant spectacles the Spanish nobles vied with each other in displaying gorgeous costumes decorated with quantities of jewelry.<sup>1</sup>

Almost every wealthy courtier included a poet in his retinue, with the understanding that the poet would later eulogize the brilliant appearance of his patron. It was in this way that Lope de Vega attended the royal wedding, his patron being the Duke of Sessa. Lope's description of the festivities appears in the third act of Las dos estrellas, o los ramilletes de Madrid.<sup>2</sup> Quevedo, on the other hand, was at the Court as the official representative of the Parliament of Sicily and of its Spanish Viceroy, the Duke of Osuna. He had just presented the triennial Sicilian contribution of 300,000 ducats to the King, and was charged in addition with maintaining Osuna's popularity with the government.<sup>3</sup> In a letter written some weeks later to the Duke of Osuna, Quevedo described the exhibition of splendor on the part of the Spanish nobility at Burgos:

Síguese la grandeza de las bodas de la reyna de Francia, dejando aparte la grandeza del señor duque de Lerma, que fué igual al ánimo con que haze todas sus cosas (no cuento a V.Ex.ª el número de azémilas, ni digo lo acostumbrado de cordones de seda, reposteros bordados i garrotes de plata por ser cosa tan

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> "Casamientos de España y Francia, esto es, poderes, capitulaciones matrimoniales y relaciones de los viajes del príncipe Felipe IV...," Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, MS 6191, esp. fols. 80-85. This library is hereafter cited as BNM.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Hugo A. Rennert and Américo Castro, Vida de Lope de Vega (Madrid, 1919), pp. 167, 231. Las dos estrellas, BAE, LII, 321.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Memorial del pleyto que el señor D. Iuan Chumacero y Sotomayor, Fiscal del Consejo de las Ordenes y de la Iunta, trata con el duque de Vzeda, sig. g, fol. 13. The location of this printed Memorial (which bears no date or place of publication) is not given by Luis Astrana Marin in his undocumented and not entirely accurate La vida turbulenta de Quevedo (Madrid, 1945), p. 217, nor in his Obras completas: obras en verso by Quevedo (Madrid, 1943), p. 805 (documents). It is bound in an unindexed volume of varios in the BNM, MS 11569, [No. 11].

cierta). Dió librea a toda su casa, la misma del Rey: aquellos adjedrezitos que V.Ex.ª a bisto en las alegrías de la Casa de Borgoña. Llevó consigo al Marqués mi Sr.,4 al Almirante,5 al duque de Cea,6 i estos tres señores se uistieron por sí i por sus criados porque fueron más ricos que todos, i no [se les] dieron librea. Llevó al duque de Sesas [sic], que vino con gran casa, caballeriza i recámara, i hizo entrada de zabuco en el pueblo (trujo consigo a Lope de Vega, cosa que el conde de Olivares7 imitó, de suerte que biniendo en el propio acompañamiento, trujo vn par de poetas sobre apuesta, amenazando con su relazión). Io estube por escribir vn romanze en esta guisa, mas tropezé en la envajada:

> A la orilla de vn marqués sentado estaua vn poeta: que andan con reyes i condes los que andauan con obejas.

El conde de Villamor<sup>8</sup> hizo demostrazión grande porque fué a acompañar a su Ex.ª con librea espléndida. Vn cauallero particular de Balladolid (que así se mandó nombrar: don Tal Portocarrero), enbistiéndosele las bodas en el cuerpo como los diablos, se bistió a sí i a sus criados de su mayorazgo (cosa que le contradijeron los años por uenir y la gana de comer), i sacó la más rica i mejor librea en gran perjuicio de su estómago i acreedores.º El duque de Maqueda10 vino con mucha jente i muii luzido, acompañando a su Ex.ª, mas no trujo poeta, cosa que se notó.11

<sup>4</sup> Juan Téllez Girón, Marqués de Peñafiel, Osuna's son, at this time eighteen years old, energetic, prodigal, and with some of his father's wildness. He had already served in Osuna's galleys, bringing rich prizes to Spain. See Francisco Fernández de Bethencourt, Historia genealógica y heráldica de la Monarquia Española (Madrid, 1900), II, 572. Hereafter cited as Beth.

<sup>5</sup> Juan Enríquez de Cabrera, Admiral of Castille and Duke of Medina de

Rioseco. He was married to Luisa de Sandoval y Padilla, daughter of the Duke of Uceda and granddaughter of Lerma. See Ciriaco Pérez Bustamente, Felipe III: Semblanza de un monarca y perfiles de una privanza (Madrid, 1950), p. 54.

Hereafter cited as Pérez.

<sup>6</sup> Francisco Gómez de Sandoval, son of the Duke of Uceda, a young man of great promise who was married to a daughter of the Admiral of Castille. His military career later aroused Quevedo's great admiration. See Quevedo, Obras completas en prosa, ed. Luis Astrana Marín (Madrid, 1945), p. 646, and Obras completas: obras en verso (Madrid, 1943), p. 381. Hereafter cited as Obs. en proso, Astrana, and Obs. en verso, Astrana.

<sup>7</sup> Gaspar de Guzmán, just named one of the six gentlemen-in-waiting of the ten-year-old Crown Prince Philip. For the story of Olivares' power and control over this prince after he became Philip IV, see Gregorio Marañón, El condeduque de Olivares (Madrid, 1952).

§ Alonso de Alvarado y Velasco, one of Philip III's chamberlains. He married a relative of the Duke of Osuna (Beth. II, 445).

<sup>9</sup> Probably Antonio Portocarrero, a young courtier later named a chamberlain of Philip IV. He was not a relative of Alonso Portocarrero, Marqués de Barcarrota, a friend of Quevedo. See Angel González Palencia, Noticias de Madrid, 1621-1627 (Madrid, 1942), p. 27, and Lope de Vega, Las dos estrellas, BAE, LII, 322.

10 Bernardino de Cárdenas, Viceroy of Sicily in 1599, and husband of the Duchess of Nájera, a cousin of Osuna (Beth. II, 545).

<sup>11</sup> Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Consejos, legajo 49868, No. 7. Published by Astrana Marín, Obs. en prosa, p. 1600, and Epistolario completo de don Francisco de Quevedo-Villegas (Madrid, 1946), p. 23 (hereafter cited as EP). The manuscript is not correctly identified in either edition, and there are numerous insertions and omissions in the text: Astrana reads "solamente" for "sólo," ii io a auer" for "i io a uer," etc. In addition, Astrana's two texts differ: "la duquesa doña Isabel" becomes "la duquesa Isabel" in Obs. en prosa, but appears correctly in EP; "que se le saque," correct in Obs., becomes "que le

It is perhaps difficult for the modern reader to picture the brilliance of this scene; Quevedo was writing for a contemporary who would understand the degree of luxury intended to be conveyed, for example, by "muii luzido."12 He is describing the wedding procession from the Royal Palace to the Cathedral of Burgos. Although by virtue of rank the central figures were the King and the Princess, they are mentioned only in the first clause of the letter; the succeeding paragraphs deal with the nobility, and principally with Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, the Duke of Lerma. Quevedo compares Lerma's splendor to the spirit with which he did everything; this ambition had already led him, as Philip III's favorite, to extract a fortune of some fifty million ducats in mercedes from the weak King and in lavish presents from all those seeking any favor or government office.18 He himself paid for all the celebrations at Burgos, and as Quevedo was to say of him years later, "pareció más competir a su señor que obedecerle."14 Pedro Mantuano gives a detailed account of the satin suit Lerma wore, studded with diamonds and pearls worth 20,000 ducats.15

It is interesting that Quevedo intentionally omits any detailed description of such pomp because it is "lo acostumbrado" and "cosa tan cierta." Not only was he writing to one thoroughly familiar with the magnificence of state functions, but he himself was of noble blood and had grown up at the Court. When the Court moved to Valladolid in 1601, Quevedo saw the almost unrivaled splendor of constant celebrations of all sorts, and to judge from the well-known letrilla "Poderoso caballero es don Dinero," published in 1605, his disdain for the ostentatious nobility dates from those years. It is natural that he would not trouble to describe the silk and silver to a friend who was also a courtier. He even belittled the accourtement of the nobles, referring to the brilliant bejeweled libreas or uniforms with which the Duke of Lerma equipped his retinue as "those little checkerboards you saw at the dances." The showy demonstration of

<sup>13</sup> Pérez, pp. 53-62, 71-84. <sup>14</sup> "Grandes anales de quince días," Obs. en prosa, Astrana, p. 587.

saque" in EP; "le imbocan," correct in EP, is read "le imboca" in Obs., etc. A number of misprints appear, such as "ajadrecitos" for "ajedrecitos," "fargrigue" for "fadrique," etc. Astrana explains none of these alterations, simply stating that the text is reproduced "exactamente según la grafia del original." The reader may verify the text by use of the photostats included in EP, p. 23. In view of the above, all quotations from this and other letters of Quevedo will be taken directly from the manuscripts examined in the original in Spain. Only punctuation, capitalization, accentuation, and separation of words will be introduced.

<sup>12</sup> The only comment I have found on this letter is in EP, pp. 530 ff., where half of the persons Quevedo mentions are identified, sometimes erroneously, and much irrelevant information is offered about what several of them did years after 1615 (two pages on Villamediana's death in 1622, a page on the exploits of the Duke of Cea between 1625 and 1636, etc.). No analysis is made of Quevedo's thoughts, attitude, or impressions.

<sup>18</sup> Pedro Mantiano, Casamientos de España y Francia, y viage del dvque de Lerma (Madrid, 1618), p. 124.

splendor by the Duke of Sessa is treated with a touch of humorous disdain: "vino con gran casa, caballeriza i recámara, i hizo entrada de zabuco en el pueblo." Young Don Antonio Portocarrero equipped himself and his retinue with very expensive and apparently tightfitting libreas, "cosa que le contradijeron los años por uenir i la gana de comer . . . en gran perjuiicio de su estómago i acreedores." Later, Quevedo exclaims "¡ Bibe Dios, que no me puse el vestido que V.Ex.ª me dió porque no me le quitasen a pedazos, sin ser santo!" The humor of these passages is typical of his concentrated and penetrating satire: a sentence, sometimes even a forceful phrase, is enough to characterize and ridicule each noble.

Closely connected with Ouevedo's disdain for splendor was his contempt for the newly rich who pretended they came of as noble blood as a man like himself. Of Fernando de Acevedo, President of the Council of Castille, he once said, "Fué mi culpa que le conocí en [la Universidad de] Alcalá...antes de la medra, y quisiera [él] hacer creer a España que no nació de su fortuna."16 The satirical passages in point from the "Poderoso caballero" are well known. In the "Premáticas y aranceles generales" Queveda satirized "las vanas presunciones de los mediohidalgos y de atrevidos hombrecillos," calling such men "caballeros chanflones" (an allusion to coins worth one-quarter ducat which had been beaten out to resemble the larger two-quarter pieces).17 In the letter to Osuna he wrote, "Andan con reyes i condes / los que andauan con obejas." Such newly rich must have plagued the Court, for Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa echoed one of Quevedo's phrases: "Desean autorizarse los a quien cierto antogicoxo llamó 'caualleros chanflones,' con afirmar de sí muchas cosas tan nueuas como las del Hipocentauro o Fénix, jamás vistos."18

Some of the satire in Quevedo's letter is directed at Lope de Vega and the poet brought to compete with him by the Conde-duque de Olivares; apparently neither was of noble blood, but both enjoyed places of honor in the procession.19 Behind their good fortune were the ambition and desire for flattery of their patrons, Sessa and Olivares. As the future favorite of Philip IV, this moment was vitally important for Olivares. In the words of Dr. Marañón, "Sobre esta fecha gravita, como sobre un eje, el destino del Conde-duque, y es imprescindible señalarla con claridad."20 With the marriage of

<sup>16 &</sup>quot;Grandes anales de quince días," Obs. en prosa, Astrana, p. 572.

17 Obs. en prosa, Astrana, p. 65. Samuel Gili y Gaya has resolved the controversy over the authorship of this part of the "Premáticas" in favor of Quevedo: see "Guzmán de Alfarache y las 'Premáticas y aranceles generales,'" Boletín de la Biblioteca de Menéndez Pelayo, XXI (1945), 436-42. On chanflones, see José María Salaverría, ed., Obras satíricas y festivas by Quevedo, Clásicos castellanos (Madrid, 1948), p. 47, note.

18 El Passagero, ed. R. Selden Rose (Madrid, 1914), p. 446. The "antogicoxo" is identified as Quevedo in the Introduction to Francisco Rodríguez Marín's edition (Madrid, 1913), p. viii.

19 For Lope's allusions to his own humble origin. see Rennert and Castro.

<sup>19</sup> For Lope's allusions to his own humble origin, see Rennert and Castro, Vida de Lope, pp. 2-5.

<sup>20</sup> El conde-duque de Olivares (Madrid, 1952), p. 33.

the young Crown Prince, it became necessary to appoint personal gentlemen-in-waiting, and Olivares was one of the six courtiers chosen. Ambitious and anxious to please Prince Philip by outstripping Lope's praise of Sessa and by competing with Lerma's magnificent retinue, Olivares, as Quevedo says, brought his own poet,

"sobre apuesta, amenazando con su relazión."

This was not the first time Quevedo had complained of a plethora of poets: in the "Premáticas" he satirized "la innumerable multitud de poetas que Dios ha enviado a España por castigo de nuestros pecados."<sup>21</sup> And like Quevedo, the bitter Cristóbal Suárez de Figueroa, who wrote a short account of the celebrations in Burgos (his title page declared it to be "la relación más cierta q[ue] ha salido de la Corte"), ridiculed the poets who accompanied the Court:

Que copiosa materia se les ofrece aora a los Cisnes Españoles.... Yo apostaré que van estos días subiendo el Parnaso arriba más tropas de poetas que tiene peñas el monte, cada uno con su dozena de aprendices de todos estados y calidades, que esta bendita ciencia es tan piadosa que se comunica hasta con lacayos.<sup>22</sup>

As mentioned above, Lope de Vega's description of the wedding at Burgos appears at the end of the third act of Las dos estrellas, o los ramilletes de Madrid. Lope's descriptions of the degree of splendor exhibited by the nobility are closely parallel to Quevedo's. He praises the Marqués de Peñafiel and speaks of the brilliant appearance of the Admiral of Castille, the Conde-duque de Olivares, and the Dukes of Cea and Maqueda. The Conde de Villamor he calls "bizarro en cualquier empresa," and Antonio Portocarrero's costume "pudiera / hacer competencia al sol."

More interesting than the similarities, however, are the differences between the two accounts. Lope's version approaches the form of a recitation of the names of all the nobles of any importance who attended the wedding, with pauses to praise the brilliant appearance

of the more outstanding courtiers:

El de Povar, Mirabel,
Paredes y Santisteban,
Barajas, Arcos y Castro,
Camarasa y Siete Iglesias,
Capitanes de las guardas
españolas y tudescas...
Don Pedro Pacheco, ilustre
y insigne en gobierno y letras;
don Fernando el de Carrillo,
Presidente en el de Hacienda;
Gil Ramírez de Arellano,
tan ilustre en la nobleza
como en letras y virtud...
El gran padre Confesor
a quien España venera...

<sup>21</sup> Obs. en prosa, Astrana, p. 64.
 <sup>22</sup> Relación de la örosíssima jornada, que la Magestad del Rey Don Felipe,
 Nuestro Señor a hecho aora con nuestro Príncipe, y la Reyna de Francia, sus

This is in sharp contrast to the variety and individuality of Quevedo's comments. Lope includes some fifty names, and all comment is in the nature of effusive and repetitious praise. Quevedo, on the other hand, is content to mention ten nobles whom he does not hesitate to criticize and even ridicule.

These differences are due in part to the different media which each writer used. Lope's account was to be recited in public on the stage, and thus he could not afford to offend any important courtier, while Quevedo, as the official representative of the Viceroy of Naples, certainly never intended to publish some of the remarks in his personal letter. But this makes Quevedo's letter all the more interesting: he was not restrained (or goaded), as was Lope, to praise those whom he mentioned and to mention as many as possible. Such eulogy is dull today, but Quevedo's private remarks, often in his best satirical vein, retain their interest. While Lope, for example, says that Antonio Portocarrero's costume "pudiera / hacer competencia al sol," Quevedo ridicules such brilliance as achieved only through "gran perjuiicio de su estómago i acreedores." Lope's eager adulation crowds out any literary interest his account might have, but Quevedo's individualism, humor, and detached criticism of the customs of his time are refreshing.

The personalities of the two men may also have influenced their varying accounts: given the privacy of a personal letter, Quevedo naturally indulged in the satire which was his second nature. This is probably the reason for the similarity between some of Quevedo's remarks and those of Suárez de Figueroa, who, as we have seen, joined Quevedo in ridiculing the excessive number of poets in Burgos and their lack of noble blood.

In addition to the above reasons, Lope seems to have taken Court social functions much more seriously than Quevedo. Although eighteen years Quevedo's senior, he was far more willing to praise the ostentatious display of wealth by the nobility on such occasions. In Valencia in 1599 Lope was so impressed by the festivities in honor of the marriage of Philip III and Archduchess Margaret of Austria that he wrote four different eulogies on the part played by the principal courtiers in these celebrations.<sup>28</sup> Quevedo wrote few if any such lengthy accounts; and the letter to Osuna is not his only bur-

hijos, para efetuar sus reales bodas (Madrid, 1615), [fol. 2]. A copy exists in the Real Academia de la Historia, Colección de Jesuitas, Vol. 108.

Real Academia de la Historia, Colección de Jesuitas, Vol. 108.

<sup>23</sup> Romance a las venturosas bodas que se celebraron en la insigne ciudad de Valencia (Valencia, 1599), and Fiestas de Denia al rey cathólico Felipe III de este nombre (Valencia, 1599). Reprints of these two are in BAE, XXXVIII, 255 and 465. The third account is in Act I of "El Argel fingido y renegado de amor," Obras de Lope de Vega, ed. Real Academia Española, Nueva edición (Madrid, 1917), III, 463, and the fourth in Act III of "El rústico del Cielo," Obras de Lope de Vega, ed. Real Academia Española (Madrid, 1895), V, 268. On the festivities in Valencia, see Ciriaco Pérez Bustamente, Felipe III: Semblanza de un monarca y perfiles de una privanza (Madrid, 1950), pp. 64-71. Pérez Bustamente, however, does not mention Lope.

lesque of a state occasion.24 Perhaps Lope's humble origin left him more easily impressed by the splendor of the Court. In his poetry, he stooped to aping other writers' styles in order to gain attention at Court:25 it is not surprising that when mentioning rich and powerful nobles by name, he abandoned his talent to the Renaissance tradition of flattery. Lope had spent many years as the dependent of one powerful courtier or another, but Quevedo was more accustomed to dealing with such men as equals. He was the Duke of Osuna's personal friend and confidant (not his secretary), and the relationship was so informal that in writing to a third person the Duke even referred to Quevedo as "el bellaco de Quevedo." His correspondence in verse with Lerma shows that Quevedo was not afraid to joke with the royal favorite in person or to write about the unethical way in which Lerma had acquired much of his fortune.26 Though scornful, the verses which Quevedo directed at Lope and others contained some truth: "andan con reves i condes / los que andauan con obejas."

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<sup>24</sup> Obs. en verso, Astrana, pp. 169, 306, 307; EP, 113-19.

<sup>28</sup> Dámaso Alonso, Poesía española: ensayo de métodos y límites estilísticos (Madrid, 1950), pp. 472-90, esp. 486-88.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Osuna, summary of a letter to Andrés Velázquez, July 27, 1616. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Sección de Consejos, legajo 49868, in "Lo que resulta contra Velázquez" (unfoliated). Reproduced with no documentation by Astrana Marín in La vida turbulenta de Quevedo (Madrid, 1945), p. 234. Quevedo's correspondence with Lerma is in EP, pp. 62-68. See also Quevedo's letter to Osuna in EP, pp. 92-96.

#### DR. JOHNSON AND THE COLLECT

#### By RAYMOND CARTER SUTHERLAND

That Dr. Johnson did not use the Collect form may come as a surprise to the readers of his Prayers and Meditations. One would expect him to recognize and use this type of prayer, since it is a most disciplined and interesting pattern both from a liturgical and from a literary point of view. Dr. Johnson's prayers2 are greatly influenced by those in the Book of Common Prayer. His models, however, were not the Collects, but rather the longer prayers to be read after the Collects at Matins and Evensong: for example, the first prayer in Prayers and Meditations is a paraphrase of the General Thanksgiving. While Dr. Johnson did not compose in the Collect form, he was to some extent aware of it; he copied at least one Collect into his private devotions, and he approximated the Collect form more than once. However, he never mastered the Collect form and seemingly never devoted much attention to it. Several reasons for this may be offered: his indolence may have kept him from such a hard art form: the Collect is an "ecclesiastical" form par excellence (that is, it has an official and liturgical quality, whereas the longer Prayer Book prayers have a more private and intimate tone); Dr. Johnson may never have heard the Collects sung to their ancient tones and may not have recognized their form (we know that he had little interest in music); he may have been as dilatory about his praying as he was about his church attendance; we may guess that his conceptions of prose and poetry kept him from recognizing the (very Roman) plainness and grandeur of the Collect, which is an attempt to get precision with simplicitas and is not to be made up of the periodic sentences Dr. Johnson loved. He probably sensed nothing of the Collect's musical background and classed it (with the longer prayers) as prose. Or perhaps he knew the Collect's musical background and was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The one exception is his copying of the Collect for the Second Sunday in Lent where he merely changes plural pronouns to singular pronouns: "Almighty God, who seest that I have no power of myself to help myself; keep me both outwardly in my body and inwardly in my soul, that I may be defended from all adversities that may happen to the body, and from all evil thoughts which may assault and hurt the soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." Prayers and Meditations, ed. George Strahan, Works of Samuel Johnson (London, 1825), IX. 230.

IX, 230.

<sup>2</sup> Prayers and Meditations, containing Dr. Johnson's surviving prayers, was first published posthumously in 1785 by George Strahan. Some of the informal divisions have a meditation on past conduct with a series of resolutions for amendment of life and then one or more pertinent prayers, while many of the divisions are concerned with Holy Week, a period of especial devotion for Dr. Johnson. Most of the prayers are related to a self-examination with attendant resolutions, but a few of them are evidently designed to be repeated. Such prayers are "Before any New Study" (p. 208) and the "Introductory Prayer" (p. 212).

frightened away from it on that account. At any rate his prayers show that he favored a wordiness quite foreign to the spirit of the Collect.

The Collect is a distinct art form of great compression. One liturgical writer, speaking of the Latin originals of the English Collects.

They are constructed in a lapidary Roman style, brief, yet pregnant with meaning. Elegance of language goes with brevity and conciseness of expression. Seldom does the Latin language find a more correct or choicer application. The exterior form of the Collects is uniform; variety is not their outstanding characteristic. This uniformity was somewhat necessary, since these formulas were generally composed with a view to being sung according to a uniform melody.8

The Collect, says another liturgical authority, is a short prayer that "is as exacting an art-form as a sonnet. It is free poetry, where thoughts, instead of words, rhyme in definite strophe-patterns. It has underlying principles of prose-rhythm."4 The Collect, which concentrates on one petition, aims at expressing an idea with a minimum use of words. It generally consists of four parts which may be expanded (by a balanced doubling of each of the first three elements) or which may have their order changed. The most classic Collect pattern follows this order: (1) Address to God; (2) Descriptive Clause; (3) Petition or Thanksgiving; (4) Ending.

As we saw in the first paragraph, the Collect's musical setting had a great deal to do with fixing its form. There are two basic tones for chanting the Collect: the ferial and the festal. The ferial tone is simply the use of one note in intoning the prayer and exerts little influence on the form of the Collect. The festal tone, which is more frequently used, governs the form.

The festal tone has a metrum (d' t l d' d') on the syllables [preceding] the colon which terminates the first part of the prayer; and a flex (a fall of a semitone, d't, on the last syllable or syllables) on the syllable(s) [preceding] the semicolon that usually marks the end of the second part<sup>5</sup> of the prayer. The rest of the prayer is sung on the reciting note. In the conclusion, on the contrary, the flex occurs first (after the Filium tuum) and the metrum second (on the words Sancti Deus) and the conclusion terminates on the reciting note.6 [Notice that do does not indicate C on the organ, but whatever note is chosen as the reciting note, usually F or G.]

Pius Parsch, Liturgy of the Mass (St. Louis, Missouri, 1942), p. 114.
 John Wallace Suter, Book of English Collects (New York, 1940), p. xxix.

He quotes Parsons and Jones, The American Prayer Book (New York, 1937).

There is no room in this paper for an exhaustive treatment of the Collect. Mr. Suter has a good essay on pages xxviii-li of his book. As to the word Collect, there is disagreement among the authorities. It may mean a prayer originally said by the Celebrant of the Eucharist over the people "collected" together, or it may mean the Celebrant's "collection" or summation of the people's petitions. For a fuller discussion see K. D. Mackenzie, "Collects, Epistles, and Gospels," Liturgy and Worship, ed. William Kemp Lowther Clarke (London, 1943), pp. 374-76.

This refers to what this paper calls the third part of the Collect, the Petition.

<sup>6</sup> J. O'Connell, The Celebration of Mass (Milwaukee, 1940), III, 59.

These are rules for chanting the most important of the Latin Collect forms.

The Collects in the English Book of Common Prayer of 1549 were translations from the Latin parent rite and were designed to be sung (at High Mass) in the customary tone.<sup>7</sup> An example of the English Collect, selected from the Book of Common Prayer, is the Collect for the Feast of the Epiphany (presented here both in English and in the Latin original).

O God, who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only-begotten Son to the d'd' Gentiles: Mercifully grant, that we, which know thee now by faith, may after this life have the fruition of thy glorious Godhead; Through [the same thy Son] d't

Jesus Christ our Lord [who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost d't | d'ever one God world without end]. Amen.8

Deus, qui hodierna die Unigenitum tuum gentibus stella duce revelasti: concede propitius, ut, qui jam te ex fide cognovimus, usque ad contemplandam speciem d't tuae celsitudinis perducamur; Per eumdem [Jesum Christum Filium tuum d't d't 'I d' Dominum nostrum qui tecum vivis et regnas in unitate Spiritus Sancti Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.]

Part One, the Address, is the two syllables: "O God." Part Two, the Descriptive Clause, is: "who by the leading of a star didst manifest thy only-begotten Son to the Gentiles." The Petition has been italicized, and the formal ending follows it. It may readily be seen how much is expressed and implied in so brief a compass.

The Collect is important in public and private prayer. It is regularly used in liturgical worship as the "prayer of the day" both in the Eucharist and in the Offices. It is appropriate for public worship because it has an objectivity and a lack of emotionalism and because its conciseness enables a concentration on the dominant theme of the day. The Collect is equally useful in formal private devotions. It is noticeable how the prayers made by an individual in Evangelical worship (these are private prayers though spoken before other people)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Anglican Missal in the American Edition (Mount Sinai, N.Y., 1943), pp. axxi-axxiv. This has instructions on Anglican customs of chanting the Collects. Merbecke's setting came soon after the 1549 Prayer Book and replaced the anglest chants. However, Merbecke used a simplified Gregorian chant.

ancient chants. However, Merbecke used a simplified Gregorian chant.

<sup>8</sup> The first bracketed portion in the English Collect is added to bring it into precise conformity with the Latin Collect (as the American Prayer Book has done). The part added in brackets at the end of both the English and Latin Collects is rarely printed in the Missale Romanum or in the Book of Common Prayer because it is relatively unchanging; it must be supplied if the Collect is to be sung according to the customary intonations.

tend to assume a highly personal and characteristic "form." Such prayers rarely approximate the Collect form because the Evangelical tradition tends to put all elements of prayer into one long and complex prayer, but they do demonstrate a tendency toward the creation of a pattern. In private prayer an often-repeated petition tends to become fixed in form, and, where the tradition is to have a theme and to have prayers interspersed among other devotional material, several brief and highly unified prayers develop instead of the single long prayer. These short prayers tend to be expressed in a fixed pattern (as do the longer prayers) and with an economy of words in order that the central idea of the prayer may be kept dominant. The chant has a remote but real influence on Collects composed for private devotion.

The usefulness of the Collect even in private devotion has long been recognized. Collects are to be found in the English Primers (along with longer prayers of a more meditative type). The mature English tradition may be seen in John Cosin's Primer which was published in 1627, having the license of the Bishop of London and the cumbrous title: A Collection of Private Devotions in the Practice of the Ancient Church, called the Hours of Prayer. The Collects in Cosin's Book of Hours tend to be the "doubled" type, more suitable to private devotions than the usually sparer liturgical type; but they preserve the classic Collect form. The Collect for the Third Hour is typical:

Almighty God, which as about this hour didst instruct, and replenish the hearts of Thy faithful servants, by sending down upon them the light of Thy Holy Spirit: Grant me by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, that I may both perceive and know what I ought to do, and also have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same; through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, who was also at this hour contented to receive the bitter sentence of death for us, and now liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the same blessed Spirit, one God, world without end. Amen.<sup>10</sup>

This Primer of Cosin's was patterned immediately on the Primer of Queen Elizabeth (more remotely, but directly, on earlier English and Continental Primers) and represents a continuing tradition of a type of private devotion. This tradition, together with the use of Collects in the Prayer Book liturgy, makes it obvious that the Collect was a traditional form both in the public and private worship of Dr. Johnson's Church. He heard at least three Collects every time he went to public worship. The Collect was also used in Anglican devotional manuals, and the Collect form is almost inevitable in often-used prayers in the Anglican tradition. Therefore, it remains surprising that Dr. Johnson does not seem to have imposed this classic discipline

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Works of the Right Reverend Father in God, John Cosin, ed. W. F. Audland (Oxford, 1845), II, 83-331.
<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 179-80.

on himself.<sup>11</sup> Not the Collect but the following prayer is typical of Johnson's compositions:

O Lord, my Maker and Protector, who has graciously sent me into this world to work out my salvation, enable me to drive from me all such unquiet and perplexing thoughts as may mislead or hinder me in the practice of those duties which Thou has required. When I behold the works of thy hands, and consider the course of thy providence, give me grace always to remember that thy thoughts are not my thoughts, nor thy ways my ways. And while it shall please Thee to continue me in this world, where much is to be done, and little to be known, teach me, by thy Holy Spirit, to withdraw my mind from unprofitable and dangerous inquiries, from difficulties vainly curious, and doubts impossible to be solved. Let me rejoice in the light which Thou hast imparted, let me serve Thee with active zeal and humble confidence, and wait with patient expectation for the time in which the soul which Thou receivest shall be satisfied with knowledge. Grant this, O Lord, for Jesus Christ's sake. Amen. 12

This, like most of his prayers, is not a Collect. If it has a model, the model is that type of prayer read at Matins and Evensong just before the blessing. These prayers were to be read when the Litany was not used; they are long and would perhaps have impressed the ordinary worshiper at the Offices as more obviously "prayerful" than the brief, almost curt, Collects.

Dr. Johnson approximated the Collect form in his "Prayer on the Rambler." 18

Almighty God, the giver of all good things, without whose help all labour is ineffectual, and without whose grace all wisdom is folly; grant, I beseech Thee, that in this my undertaking, thy Holy Spirit may not be with-held from me, but that I may promote thy glory and the salvation both of myself and others; grant this, O Lord, for the sake of Jesus Christ. Amen. 14

The prayer would more closely approximate the Collect form if it read (the parts are numbered):

(1) Almighty God, (2) the necessary help of them that labor and the giver of all good things: (3) Grant, I beseech thee, in this my undertaking, that thy Holy Spirit not being withheld from me, I may promote thy Glory and the salvation both of myself and others; (4) Through Jesus Christ our Lord who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

This revision gives greater unity to the prayer by including only what is strictly related to the principal petition and by subordinating the lesser part of the petition.

Another, and shorter, prayer of Dr. Johnson's looks like a Collect at first glance but does not conform to the canons of the Collect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The possibility must not be overlooked that Dr. Johnson used the Collect form in his private devotions but did not choose to leave an example. However, it is hard to believe that anyone with his sensitivity to literary matters could have known and used the form and still have written down no example.

 <sup>12</sup> Prayers and Meditations, pp. 281-82.
 13 It is interesting to speculate that this prayer may have been cast in a more formal mold because it was concerned with a formal and public activity.

<sup>14</sup> Prayers and Meditations, p. 205.

O God, who desirest not the death of a sinner, look down with mercy upon me, now daring to call upon Thee. Let Thy Holy Spirit so purify my affections, and exalt my desires, that my prayer may be acceptable in Thy sight, through Jesus Christ. Amen. 18

This prayer is interesting on several counts. The Descriptive Clause, "who desirest not the death of a sinner," echoes the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer. The phrase is to be found in the Absolution at Matins and Evensong: "Almighty God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who desirest not the death of a sinner, but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live. . . ." The phrase is echoed in the third of the three fixed Collects for Good Friday: "O Merciful God, who hast made all men, and hatest nothing that thou hast made, nor wouldest the death of a sinner, but rather that he should be converted and live...."16 Therefore, to any ear sensitive to the Anglican liturgy the phrase, "O God, who desirest not the death of a sinner," seems to demand "but rather that he may turn from his wickedness and live." But, even if there is not that familiar association, the clause, "who desirest not the death of a sinner," seems to demand some clause that will lead logically to the rest of the prayer. As it stands, it is a Description without logical relation to the prayer that follows. Dr. Johnson seems to have meant it in the sense of "Almighty and merciful Father" (a phrase that has balance and sonorousness and logical relation to the Petition which follows) which he thereafter adopts and frequently uses. 17 This prayer ("O God. who desirest not...") might be worked into the Collect form as follows:

Almighty and most merciful Father, whose Holy Spirit doth purify the affections and exalt the desires: So regard with thy mercy this thy humble servant now daring to call upon thee, that his prayer may be acceptable in thy sight; Through Jesus Christ our Lord who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghost ever one God world without end. Amen.

This can be sung, and any good Collect must lend itself exactly to the chant. In addition, the revision makes a portion of the Petition into a Description, "whose Holy Spirit doth purify the affections and exalt the desires," but, at the same time, leaves it by suggestion and implication a part of the Petition, while the actual Petition is left in dominant closing place and in succinct phrase, "that his prayer may be acceptable in thy sight." This is the principal petition of the Collect; the other petitions are preparatory and corollary.

This examination of Dr. Johnson's prayers is not meant to be overly critical. It is plain that he did not intend to write Collects in

<sup>15</sup> Prayers and Meditations, p. 212, "Introductory Prayer."

<sup>16</sup> This Good Friday Collect would probably have been fixed in Dr. Johnson's memory. Passiontide and Easter occupy a central and most important place in his prayers. This was due to the fact that he used the Triduum Sacrum as a time of preparation for receiving Holy Communion. He fasted all day on Good Friday. See *Prayers and Meditations*, pp. 191 and 246.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp. 222, 224, 226, 227, 228, and others.

the classic form but was using prayers composed in a different manner, in a looser and less exacting form. However, it is still surprising that Dr. Johnson did not recognize the traditional pattern and use it as a model. This is particularly remarkable in the "Introductory Prayer" examined above, 18 which seems to have been much in use. Yet, although the "Introductory Prayer" is an approximation of the Collect form in length, it does not have the rhythmical balance, flowing diction, and the compressed phrasing we find in much-used prayers in the manuals from other hands. It is interesting to compare Dr. Johnson's Prayers and Meditations with other manuals or collections of private devotions, such as those of Lancelot Andrewes, for example.19 Dr. Johnson's arrangement is by no means so systematic as that of Bishop Andrewes, who follows long-established models in his prayers and in the order of the sections of devotion. Dr. Johnson seems to have been impressed by the long prayers read at the end of the Offices, typical of which is the "Prayer for all Conditions of Men." He may have considered the Collect too austere: he may have been too indolent to master the form; his conceptions of poetry and prose may have kept him from recognizing the form; it is not impossible that he may have been influenced more than he knew by the Nonconformists in London. However, it may be said that the "form" of Dr. Johnson's prayers is not one that would result from the paring down and succinct phrasing that develop within the Anglican tradition. His prayers look somewhat rough and unused, so it is possible that, while Dr. Johnson was as heartily in favor of praying as of church going, he may have been as irregular in his devotions as in his attendance at church.

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18 See pp. 115-16.

<sup>19</sup> Anglo-Catholic Library, ed. W. F. Audland (Oxford, 1854), VIII.

## THE GLASS SHIP A RECURRENT IMAGE IN MELVILLE

#### By ARTHUR SALE

The following laconic notes attempt to hold down a protean image in Melville's works in the hope that the elusive oracle may be forced to yield something worthwhile about them. The form of the image changes often, but less arbitrarily than the seagod. In fact there is usually a visible connecting link—Actaeon in mid-transformation—and, indeed, a kind of continuity of development which reflects—at what level of consciousness it is rarely easy to be certain—a continuous development in the author's attitude toward life and death. The images return often, but only those which best represent the various stages will receive much attention here.

The first compact formulation of the image occurs, indeed, not in

his first book, but in the book of his first voyage:

But that which perhaps more than anything else converted my vague dreamings and longings into a definite purpose of seeking my fortune on the sea was an old-fashioned glass ship about eighteen inches long.... It was kept in a square glass case, which was regularly dusted by one of my sisters every morning, and stood on a little claw-footed Dutch tea-table.... This ship, after being the admiration of my father's visitors in the capital, became the wonder and delight of all the people in the village.... I used to try to peep in at the port-holes... but the holes were so small, and it looked so very dark indoors that I could discover little or nothing; though, when I was very little, I made no doubt that if I could but once pry open the hull and break the glass all to pieces, I would infallibly light upon something wonderful.... And often I used to feel a sort of insane desire to be the death of the glass ship, case and all, in order to come at the plunder....

We have her yet in the house, but many of her glass spars and ropes are now sadly shattered and broken—but I will not have her mended; and her figure-head, a gallant warrior in a cocked hat, lies pitching head-foremost down into the trough of a calamitous sea... but I will not have him put on his legs again, till I get on my own; for between him and me there is a secret sympathy; and my sisters tell me, even yet, that he fell from his perch the very day I left home

to go to sea on this my first voyage. (Redburn)1

The "insane desire" to smash this sealed microcosm (which is to scale and has its sailors, and even the steward "hurrying towards the cabin with a plate of glass pudding"), despite its universal desirability; the identification of the mannikin with Melville; the Fall; and even the legs—all these are important, but as yet, only anticipatorily. However unsatisfactory this may seem at present, the reappearance of the image in *Typee* will seem more so, and, in *Omoo*, most so.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> All quotations from Melville are from the *Collected Works*, Standard edition (London: Constable, 1922-24).

In Typee the figurehead is a god and the lovely microcosm is the Happy Valley of Typee. It is sealed by cliffs on three sides, and by a veto on the fourth. The young god is forbidden to see the sea, and in any case he is the lame god and cannot reach it. Thus his monstrously swollen leg is the fourth wall. But there is the same desire to smash this demi-Paradise, though it could not be called insane in view of the usual fate of figurehead gods inside a year. Had he survived that fate, he had still to fear the living death of King Donjalolo in Mardi, whom the knowledge that he will die the instant he leaves his cliffwalled Paradise by its one exit—a tunnel in the rock—so vitiates that he forswears the sun and cultivates his "moon" of wives in the shadows of his two palaces, the pavement of one of which is inlaid with ancestral bones. Mardi is frankly a romance, but that it is not merely fanciful to discuss the quasi-factual Typee in similar terms is shown by the later explicitness of Clarel on this very situation:

His sunburnt face what Saxon shows-His limbs all white as lilies be-Where Eden, isled, empurpled, glows In old Mendanna's sea? . . . Alighting on the cloistral sod Where strange Hesperian orchards drag. Walled round by cliff and cascatelle-Arcades of Iris; and though lorn, A truant ship-boy overworn, Is hailed for a descended god? ... And whom do priest and people sue . . . "Abide, for peace is here: Behold, nor heat nor cold we fear, Nor any dearth: one happy tide-A dance, a garland of the year: Abide!"... Renouncer! is it Adam's flight Without compulsion or the sin?

Whatever it is, the lame figurehead pitches himself into the calamitous sea.

In Omoo, which continues his adventures, he is put not "on his legs again" but in the stocks. The god has now "descended" indeed—into a condemned mutineer—but in keeping with what D. H. Lawrence called the "delightful rascally" tone of the book, we have an antimasque or burlesque. The prison, so far from being sealed, is open to the elements; the ceremony of putting the mutineers in the communal stocks is hilarious, and the kindly fat old native who executes it is likened to an old lady tucking up innocent children. Though they are the scum of the earth, they have no "insane desire" to escape from the "authentic Eden" of Tahiti, where they bathe in brooks and feed in orange groves.

The hero of *Typee* pitches headlong into his delectable walled Eden to escape the tyranny of the macrocosm. White Jacket builds himself into his for the same reason—as a safeguard against the rigors of the

elements and of iron laws. Both have to break out in order to live. The one fears the fate of the sacrificial god when his "garland of the year" shall have withered; the other is being drowned by the weight of his jacket. White Jacket should justify whatever has hitherto seemed arbitrary or tenuous or fanciful in this pursuit of an image. Melville's need and his imagination precipitate themselves into the recurrent image, ramify it lovingly, return to it serially, and end it only with the book. The image is not, however, a ship. The hero is himself now on a ship, and a sufficiently large and menacing one to stand rather for the macrocosm than for the microcosm. His minute descriptions of the man-of-war world belong to sociology rather than to symbolism; his microcosm is a development not of the glass ship of Redburn but of another image from the same work—the shooting jacket which the youth found so fortifying and then so mortifying. The white jacket was "an outlandish garment of my own devising, to shelter me from the boisterous weather we were soon to encounter.' He cut a shirt down the front and then "with many odds and ends of patches-old socks, old trowser-legs, and the like-I bedarned and bequilted the inside of my jacket, till it became, all over, stiff and padded, as King James's cotton-stuffed and dagger-proof doublet; and no buckram or steel hauberk stood up more stoutly." But as he was denied the black paint which would have insulated him from the wet also, the color makes him conspicuous, and the padding makes him a sponge in wet weather. Otherwise, it promised well as an autarchy, for since there was

no place whatever but your bag or hammock in which to put anything...I proposed, that not only should my jacket keep me warm, but that it should also be so constructed as to contain a shirt or two, a pair of trowsers, and divers knick-knacks—sewing utensils, books, biscuits, and the like. With this object, I accordingly provided it with a great variety of pockets, pantries, clothespresses, and cupboards.

The principal apartments, two in number, were placed in the skirts, with a wide, hospitable entrance from the inside; two more, of smaller capacity, were planted in each breast, with folding-doors.... There were, also, several unseen recesses behind the arras; insomuch, that my jacket, like an old castle, was full of winding stairs, and mysterious closets, crypts, and cabinets; and like a confidential writing-desk, abounded in snug little out-of-the-way lairs and hiding-places, for the storage of valuables....

If I wanted anything in the way of clothing, thread, needles, or literature, the chances were that my invaluable jacket contained it. Yes: I fairly hugged myself

... till, alas! a long rain put me out of conceit of it....

His treasures are soaked, and, put out to dry, are noticed by the crew, all pickpockets, and "in the end, I masoned up my lockers and pantries."

However delightedly the fancy ramifies the image, the latter still means death. One night the superstitious sailors take the jacket for the ghost of a dead shipmate and nearly dislodge its owner from the yard. At the end of the book it nearly smothers him, first aloft so

that he falls into the sea, and then in the sea, where he "hung vibrating in the mid-deep" in a "life-and-death poise":

I essayed to swim toward the ship; but instantly I was conscious of a feeling like being pinioned in a feather bed, and, moving my hands, felt my jacket puffed out above my tight girdle with water. I strove to tear it off; but it was looped together here and there, and the strings were not then to be sundered by hand. I whipped out my knife, that was tucked at my belt, and ripped my jacket straight up and down, as if I were ripping open myself. With a violent struggle I then burst out of it, and was free. Heavily soaked, it slowly sank before my eyes.

Sink! sink! oh shroud! thought I; sink forever! accursed jacket that thou art! "See that white shark!" cried a horrified voice from the taffrail; "he'll have

that man down his hatchway! Quick! the grains! the grains!"

The next instant that barbed bunch of harpoons pierced through and through the unfortunate jacket, and swiftly sped down with it out of sight.... Ten minutes after, I was safe on board, and, springing aloft, was ordered to reeve anew the stun'-sail-halyards....

Despite the symbolic ripping open and the resurrectionary springing aloft and the sinking of the "white shark," it is not from his isolation that he is saved. On the contrary, that is confirmed, for the opening words of his next book (Moby-Dick) are "Call me Ishmael."

In Moby-Dick the recurrent image, hitherto delectable, becomes a shape of death—a coffin or a whale; but whereas the delectable image threatened death, the threatening image carries life in its belly, Life-in-Death. Immersed in the destructive element, we are safe in the autarchic womb of the symbol of death. The pierced-throughand-through white shark, sped to the depths of the sea, emerges again as the unkillable white whale, or as the great fish which God prepared to swallow Ionah and which is the text of the sermon preached by Father Mapple when he has hauled in the rope-sided ladder up which he has climbed into his lofty pulpit, "leaving him impregnable in his little Quebec." The opening of the book is an overture. Stumbling benighted through the wintry streets of New Bedford, Ishmael, to escape from the "blocks of blackness, not houses . . . and here and there a candle, like a candle moving about in a tomb," accepts the invitation of an open door, falls over an ashbox, and, covered in ashes, finds himself in a Negro church: "It seemed the great Black Parliament sitting in Tophet. A hundred black faces turned round in their rows to peer; and beyond, a black Angel of Doom was beating a book in a pulpit." And he then puts up at "The Spouter-Inn:-Peter Coffin."

The imagery of the spouter that preserves while coffining Jonah is resumed later. Queequeg, on the point of death, begs to be buried in a coffin instead of a hammock. A canoe-coffin is made from some old lumber which "had been cut from the aboriginal groves of the Lackaday Islands," in which the savage lies, along with his harpoon, a paddle, a water flask, his little god Yojo, "a small bag of woody earth scraped up in the hold," and biscuits stacked around the sides. The lid is placed on this self-sufficient microcosm—and Queequeg makes a miraculous recovery and is on his feet again in no time. The

contrast with White Jacket's life-and-death struggle with his lethal microcosm, of which Queequeg's is so reminiscent, already plain, is made plainer by the later history of the sanative coffin. It is used as the ship's lifebuoy.

"Bring it up; there's nothing else for it," said Starbuck, after a melancholy pause, "Rig it, carpenter; do not look at me so—the coffin, I mean..."

"And shall I nail down the lid, sir?" moving his hand as with a hammer.

"Aye."

"And shall I caulk the seams, sir?" moving his hand as with a caulking-iron.

"Aye."

"And shall I then pay over the same with pitch, sir?" moving his hand as with a pitch-pot.

"Away! what possesses thee to this? Make a lifebuoy of the coffin, and no

Chips intends his rite to be that of burial, but it is in fact this black lifebuoy coffin which, shooting from the depths like a breaching whale, preserves Ishmael:

when the half-spent suction of the sunk ship reached me, I was then, but slowly, drawn towards the closing vortex....Round and round, then, and ever contracting towards the button-like black bubble at the axis of that slowly wheeling circle, like another Ixion did I revolve. Till, gaining that vital centre, the black bubble upward burst; and now, liberated by reason of its cunning spring, and, owing to its great buoyancy, rising with great force, the coffin lifebuoy shot lengthwise from the sea, fell over, and floated by my side. Buoyed up by that coffin... I floated on a soft and dirge-like main. The unharming sharks, they glided by as if with padlocks on their mouths; the savage sea-hawks sailed with sheathed beaks.

If it were not the intention of this study to confine itself to the evidence of the recurrent image, it would be pertinent here to point out that Melville had already accepted the way of isolation in the very work of which the ill success is said to have driven him into a wild dedication of himself to Timon's cave. And there is little of Timon in the next important statement of the image but a good deal-too much, in fact-of the professional jester, though the humor is sometimes wry. I and my Chimney is a monolith of about thirty pages (in the Collected Works) dedicated solely to the image—a monster of an image, as the chimney it describes is a monster in its house. The giant chimney is to its house what the swollen leg was to its body in Typee. But elephantiasis is no longer a malaise and a shackle, but an only source of strength, that makes the immobility that tending it entails seem far preferable to locomotion without ties. The chimney is, of course, the white jacket and the sanative well-appointed coffin lifebuoy; it is the comic counterpart to the Life-in-Death of the latter and the comic inversion of the Death-in-Life of the former:

It is now some seven years since I have stirred from home. My city friends all wonder why I don't come to see them, as in former times. They think I am getting sour and unsocial.... I am simply standing guard over my mossy old chimney; for it is resolved between me and my chimney, that I and my chimney will never surrender.

He is on guard because his family wish him to have the chimney dismantled in favor of a hall. Their chief inducement is that there is reason to think it contains a treasure chamber, but the days of the "insane desire" to smash the glass ship for its imagined treasure are gone. In fact, the family consider getting him certified as insane

because he will not sanction the treasure hunt.

The fireplaces "all congregate in the middle—in the one grand central chimney...so that when, in the various chambers, my family and guests are warming themselves of a cold winter's night...all their faces mutually look towards each other, yea all their feet point to one centre; and... they all sleep round one warm chimney." This may be the "vital centre" on which Ishmael circlingly converged and from which his lifebuoy shot into the air like a breaching whale—as the chimney does from the house: "it breaks water from the ridge-pole of the roof, like an anvil-headed whale through the crest of a billow." The heat of the stack is almost procreative: in a closet he keeps cordials

of a choice mysterious flavour, made so by the constant nurturing and subtle ripening of the chimney's gentle heat, distilled through that warm mass of masonry. Better for wines is it than voyages to the Indies; my chimney is itself a tropic. A chair by my chimney on a November day is as good for an invalid as a long season spent in Cuba.... How my wife's geraniums bud there! Bud in December. Her eggs, too—can't keep them near the chimney, on account of the hatching.

It may be fanciful to recall that wonderful glimpse of the procreant quick of the world of whales whose charmed circle Ishmael and his becalmed fellow hunters dare not break up. But, at any rate, the coffin was sanative, and the whale is the only warm-blooded creature in the sea.

The chimney is, like the white jacket, a warren, but, unlike the jacket, it keeps burglars at a distance, merely by its nocturnal smoke. The newel climbs round it; like Father Mapple, "you seem going up into a kind of soaring tower or lighthouse."

On all its four sides, nearly all the chambers sidled up to the chimney....The consequence was, almost every room... was in itself an entry, or passage-way to other rooms....Going through the house, you seem to be forever going somewhere, and getting nowhere.

...the chimney was, in the most haphazard way, excavated on each floor for certain curious out-of-the-way cupboards and closets, of all sorts and sizes, clinging here and there, like nests in the crotches of some old oak.

Very often I go down into my cellar, and attentively survey that vast square of masonry.... It has a druidical look, away down in the umbrageous cellar there, whose numerous vaulted passages, and far glens of gloom, resemble the dark, damp depths of primeval woods.

Typee again, or "the aboriginal groves of the Lackaday Islands"?

In The Lightning-rod Man, a sketch of the same period (1856) much slighter and barer than this above dense monograph on the

image, the narrator is again tempted to abandon his hearth, this time as being the post of greatest danger from the storm outside. The tempter sells lightning-conductors and turns out to be the devil. It is curious that the recurrent image hardly appears in the longer works after Moby-Dick and yet is the raison d'être of sketch after sketch. It is true that the "green and golden world" in which Pierre opens is an obvious instance of the image—a "green Eden" reminiscent of Omoo, except that its idol (the portrait of Pierre's father) has feet of clay, or, rather, a cloven hoof which lets in the snake (Isabel), the idol's natural daughter. But when Pierre, the "shepherd-King," falls and leaves the self-supporting estate to his mother, the real owner, the image also falls, right out of the book-unless it is somehow represented by undeveloped images such as the spiral stair in an endless shaft, the sarcophagus, and the mysterious dining closet. Indeed, as far as the image is concerned, Pierre, together with Israel Potter and most of the Piazza Tales, is a throwback. Israel Potter also has a secret chamber in a chimney, which at once preserves and nearly entombs Israel because of the death of the only person who knows its secret. Bursting out as from the white jacket. Israel, before gaining his freedom, has to don two more precarious preservers, which are in a sense resurrectionary symbols in that in one he is taken for the ghost of his dead friend (whose clothes he has donned) and in the other he is a scarecrow which has to come to life in order to escape. But these are mere incidents in the lively part of the book. The long exile spent partly in the London sewers, and the moritural return from that exile to find all the family homestead ploughed in except the hearthstone, are perfunctorily hurried over almost before one can realize their relation to the image and wonder why, although he cannot keep away from them, Melville is so little interested in them. The death scene of Billy Budd is related to Under the Rose, the last of the sketches to be discussed here, in theme but not in imagery. Nor, except for The Lightning-rod Man and the description (in The Encantadas) of Rock Rodondo, an isolated selfsufficiency rising like a bell tower ten miles from land and harboring a different kind of sea bird on each of its shelves and swarms of fish in its honeycomb of grottoes, is there any recurrence of the image in Piazza Tales in which isolated autarchy is invulnerable.

On the contrary, most of these sketches and stories concern its vulnerability. The Bell-Tower, very Poe-esque, concerns a Da Vinci figure, skilled in all arts and sciences (self-sufficiency), who builds a remarkable campanile (isolation); he is killed by the robot he has devised as carillonist, and his tower is felled by an earthquake. The hero of Bartleby, ejected from a snug little necropolis—the Dead Letter Office—tries to build up another microcosm by sheer negation: he stays behind a screen in a lawyer's office, refuses to work or to leave the premises, lives on gingernuts which the office-boy buys for him, and when this marginal solitary existence is replaced by a still-

solitary life in the court of a prison called The Tombs, he refuses even gingernuts, and dies. In order to preserve the isolation of his microcosm, he has to practice passive resistance to the death. This might be taken as a triumph of sorts over the macrocosm, and indeed Melville puts the blame on the latter—on society—but the martyrdom is lacking in exultation, and, compared with the confidence of *I and my Chimney*, the tone is that of defeat. The chimney was the backbone of Melville's house. Benito Cereno's absence of backbone is supplied, so it seems, by his devoted body-servant, Babo the Negro, who never leaves him, lets him do nothing for himself, and isolates him from the awkward questions of the macrocosm (in the shape of Captain Delano). Though Cereno manages to rid himself, after a life-and-death struggle, from this terrible glass case and universal provider, there is no resurrection as there was for White Jacket. He dies.

"You are saved," cried Captain Delano, more and more astonished and pained; "you are saved: what has cast such a shadow upon you?"

"The negro."

There was silence....

However black and fatal the sealed self-sufficiency of others, Melville is not only sustained and matured by the warm solidity of his own, but also vouchsafed a vision, the magic and beauty of which are an irresistible final justification of it. In The Apple-Tree Table (published on the heels of I and my Chimney) a dead letter is delivered: the glass ship comes alive, the treasure is seen, the image becomes an imago. If (it is fashionable to speak of Melville in terms of Shakespeare) the fairy-like glass ship is the fanciful Midsummer Night's Dream, the red bug is the visionary magical Tempest. There is first an anticipatory recapitulation, corresponding to Ishmael's journey to the end of the night at the beginning of Moby-Dick. Worming his way into an attic occupied only by ghosts, old furniture, maggots and insects (dead and alive). Melville finds "a rude, narrow, decrepit step-ladder, something like a Gothic pulpit-stairway, leading to a pulpit-like platform, from which a still narrower ladder—a sort of Jacob's ladder—led somewhat higher to a lofty scuttle" in the roof. Like Father Mapple he climbs up, but a whole world of insects attacks him when he tries to force the skylight. The sun "slopingly bored a rainbowed tunnel clear across the darkness of the garret. Here, millions of butterfly moles were swarming.... At last, with a sudden jerk, I burst open the scuttle. And ah! what a change. As from the gloom of the grave and companionship of worms, men shall at last rapturously rise into the living greenness and glory-immortal. so ... I thrust forth my head into the balmy air." This is, perhaps, White Jacket's "springing aloft."

He finds also an ancient table, of which the cloven foot scares his daughter as he descends the stairs, carrying the table before him.

Thus, like the lifebuoy coffin, ill-omened, it soon disturbs the family peace by its suspectedly psychic tickings. One night watch, the ticking stopped.

I saw something moving . . . upon the slab of the table. It shone like a glow-worm. ... And there, near the centre of the slab, as I live, I saw an irregular little hole, or, rather, short nibbled sort of crack, from which (like a butterfly escaping its chrysalis) the sparkling object, whatever it might be, was struggling. Its motion was the motion of life. I stood becharmed. Are there indeed spirits? ... Sparkling and wriggling, it still continued its throes. In another moment it was just on the point of escaping its prism. A thought struck me. Running for a tumbler I clapped it over the insect.

Unfortunately the maid next morning killed the bug, instead of dusting its glass case as Melville's sisters did in his youth. However, there was more ticking, which was sealed by another tumbler, and, one dawn,

There . . . wriggled the bug, flashing in the room's general dimness, like a fiery opal.... In truth, it was a beautiful bug-a Jew jeweller's bug-a bug like a sparkle of a glorious sunset. Julia and Anna had never dreamed of such a bug. To them, bug had been a word synonymous with hideousness. But this was a seraphical bug.

It was a "seraph band" of "crimson shadows" who signaled the end of another ancient mariner's tutelage by Life in Death, but if this is mere associational indulgence, the bug is certainly the lifebuoy coffin, released by its secret spring and emerging from the "vital centre" around which Ishmael is circling. The rings in this case are the yearly accretions to the trunk, of which the table top is a cross section, by the help of which the bug's age is estimated as a century and a half.

This vision of two of Jacob's angels is not only, as Julia asserts, a symbol of the resurrection, but also an affirmation, not of the world, but of isolation and Prospero's cell-an affirmation written a generation before Billy Budd. Billy Budd is usually considered Melville's affirmation-but of the world, not of its opposite, the recurrent image which is Melville's reaction to the hostility of the macrocosm. But its connection with the contemporary Under the Rose, the last appearance of the recurrent image and apparently one of the last things Melville wrote, helps to indicate that what is affirmed is death.

The short-lived bug was embalmed in a silver vinaigrette. In Under the Rose, a generation later, the setting has become an amber vase prized above all other things by a Persian monarch. What makes it still more valuable are the insects congealed in it, both as proving it the best amber and also because a court poet was once moved to write a poem about them. An English ambassador ("three score and three years old, and in privy fear...of a certain sudden malady"), who desires the vase as much as the Azem desires to keep it, is fobbed off with the verses instead of the vase:

Specks, tiny specks, in this translucent amber, Your leave, bride-roses, may one pry and see? How odd! a dainty little skeleton-chamber;

And—odder yet—sealed walls but windows be! Death's open secret. —Well, we are; And here comes the jolly angel with the jar!

The vase had been filled with roses for a bridal festival, and the poet, "tenderly dividing the flowers one from another," noticed "the little anatomies congealed in the amber." When the ambassador first saw the vase, it was again hidden by roses—the Azem's gift to him—"and so cunningly withal, that they fell as of themselves into the attitude of young damsels leaning over the balustrade of a dome and gazing downward." "The jolly angel with the jar" is part of one of the tiny reliefs around the vase:

the figure of an angel with a spade under arm like a gardener, and bearing roses in a pot; and a like angel-figure, clad like a cellarer, and with a wine-jar on his shoulder; and these two angels side by side, pacing towards a meagre wight, very doleful and Job-like, squatted hard by a sepulchre, as meditating thereon...

The ambassador, saddened by the parallel with himself, comments, "the black grape, I wis," and retires "distraught" to meditate upon Mr. Weston's good wine.

Here, in the last of the images, is the open association with sex which psychoanalysis would probably find latent from the first.2 The bride's beauty conceals "a dainty little skeleton chamber"-the last appearance of the treasure chamber. The pot of roses and the pot of black wine are one. This is the situation-granting its homosexual character-in Billy Budd, when Budd (another rose), whose stutter has proved fatal to him, utters his last words, "God bless Captain Vere!"-"words wholly unobstructed in the utterance...delivered in the clear melody of a singing-bird on the point of launching from the twig"-and then "ascending, took the full rose of the dawn." There may be here, to compare small things with great, something of the significance that G. Wilson Knight has found in Antony and Cleopatra and its successors, which latter have the jewel imagery found also in The Apple-Tree Table and Under the Rose. However, Melville's farewell to his recurrent image may be a warning against too specific and pretentious an interpretation of it: "But now no more hereof, nor of the amber vase, which like unto some little man in great place hath been made overmuch of, as the judicious reader hereof may opine." But if it is not the only key to the hushed casket of his soul, it is of some interest as expressing, through art, some authentic information about the casket that is withheld from his philosophizing.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The obvious imagery of sexual reproduction in the second part of *The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids* has, like some other instances of the recurrent image, not been discussed because it does not seem to mark a stage in the continuous development of the image.

#### A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CRITICAL ARTHURIAN LITERATURE FOR THE YEAR 1955

#### Prepared by

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#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADA Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur Am. Lit. American Literature Archiv Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen BABooks Abroad BBCS Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies BBSIA Bulletin Bibliographique de la Société Internationale Arthurienne Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Lit-Beiträge eratur College English Comp. Lit. Comparative Literature Cult. Neolat. Cultura Neolatina Dissertation Abstracts DA Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft DAEM Deu, Viertel. und Geistesgeschichte Deutsche Literaturzeitung DLZ EHR English Historical Review English Literary History English Studies (Amsterdam) ELH Eng. St. Et. Angl. **Etudes Anglaises** Etudes Celtiques Etudes Germaniques Et. Celt. Et. Germ. Fr. St. French Studies Ger. L & L Ger. Rev. German Life and Letters Germanic Review Germanisch-romanische Monatsschrift, Neue Folge GRM Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana Hispanic Review GSLI HR **JEGP** Journal of English and Germanic Philology Lang. Mod. Les Langues Modernes Let. Rom. Les Lettres Romanes [London] Times Literary Supplement LTLS MA Le Moyen Age Medium Ævum Modern Language Journal Modern Language Notes Med. Æ. MLJ MLNModern Language Quarterly MLO

In general, I have tried to follow the practice of Professor Parry, who edited the Arthurian Bibliography so ably for thirty-two years. For a statement of his policy, see MLQ, xI (1950), 217. Because of the large amount of peripheral material, I have included only items which I felt could be justified as Arthurian, or which contain Arthurian allusions or parallels.

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I am indebted to Professor Robert W. Ackerman, editor of the American Section of the BBSIA, for exchanging items with me, and to Professor Jean Frappier, the editor of that builetin, for graciously permitting such exchange. Users of this bibliography should also consult the BBSIA for items, particularly of European origin, that I might have overlooked, and for the critical comments. Research on this bibliography has been aided by a grant from the Committee

on Research, Temple University.

MER	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
N&Q	Notes and Queries
Neophil.	Neophilologus
New. Spr.	Die Neueren Sprachen
Op. News	Opera News
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
QJS	Quarterly Journal of Speech
RES	Review of English Studies
Rev. Belge	Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire
RF	Romanische Forschungen
RLC	Revue de Littérature Comparée
Rom.	Romania
Rom. Phil.	Romance Philology
RR	Romanic Review
SAQ	South Atlantic Quarterly
WW	Wirkendes Wort: Deutsches Sprachschaffen in Lehre
	und Leben
YR	Yale Review
YWES	Year's Work in English Studies
YWMLS	Year's Work in Modern Language Studies
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
ZDPh	Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie
ZRPh	Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie

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# NO ENTRY, NO EXIT A STUDY OF BORCHERT WITH SOME NOTES ON SARTRE

## By KARL S. WEIMAR

The writers of our time are most sentiently attuned to the experience of loneliness and homelessness and to the search for the ultimate meaning of human existence. They have perceived loneliness as a social or political ostracism, as a pathological psychoneurosis or even as sexual trauma, as the artist's isolation, or as religious anguish, and their search has been guided by intuition and revelation, by rational probing or even erudite irony, by an invincible hope and by a grim despair. The quest has been rewarding and frustrating, pathetic and tragic. Perhaps the most succinct expression of these two themes is Rilke's in the Sonnets to Orpheus:

Between the stars, what distances; and yet how much greater distances One learns from the here and now. Some one, for example, a child...and one near him, another-Oh how incredibly far.1

and the familiar "But when are we?"2

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The hero of Wolfgang Borchert's radio play, The Man Outside (February, 1947), has lost all contact with his fellow human beings; his efforts to reënter society are thwarted, for he is misunderstood and rejected by all save one, and from this creature he flees in distraction, believing he has innocently sinned against her husband. The three figures of Jean-Paul Sartre's play, No Exit (performed in Paris, 1944), are irremediably alone, and, although they are sentenced to be forever together, they will never be able to bridge the distance between them nor to share in each other's lives. Borchert's man, Corporal Beckmann, remains always outside society; Sartre's trio is forever sealed within the walls of society. The closed door of the original titles, Draußen vor der Tür and Huis Clos, is an unmistakable symbol of isolation and loneliness. Yet in each play the hero makes stubborn and frenzied attempts to find some justification, some meaning for his existence; the goal in each case is what is described in existential philosophy as authentic existence. Both heroes are impelled in the same direction; the one, despite his frantic drive, is irremediably closed off from existence, and the other is ironically walled in toward existence. Both citified heroes know only the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Sonette an Orpheus, II, 20. All translations throughout the article are the author's. The Man Outside has been translated by David Porter (New York: New Directions, 1952); No Exit (with The Flies) by Stuart Gilbert (New York, 1947).

2 Ibid., I, 3.

approach through human society; they fail to recognize the possibility of reaching authentic existence through the experience of nature and to realize that man is an integral part of the natural world.

Under the pressure of history Borchert and Sartre have contributed to the literature of "extreme situations." As with Camus, Malraux, Koestler, Rousset, and others, their characters are "at the peak of their power, or imprisoned, on the point of dying, or of being tortured, or of killing; wars, coups d'état, revolutions, bombardments and massacres are the order of the day. On every page, on every line man's whole existence is at stake."4

The Man Outside is a voice from the ruins and rubble of Germany. Borchert was a soldier on the Russian front, returned from field hospital to court, tried for treason (i.e., speaking too frankly) and imprisoned, eventually liberated to brief activity in theater and cabaret, long illness, and at twenty-six, death in a hospital in Switzerland. His feverish rhythms and twisted perspectives are the expression of his life and his time.

No Exit evolved out of the "cyclone of 1940"; defeat, treachery, occupation, collaboration, resistance—these are the circumstances

which enveloped Sartre.

We had to save ourselves or be lost groping through this irreversible time; events swooped down upon us like thieves and we had to perform our human tasks in the face of the incomprehensible and the untenable.... Our art will give to events their brutal freshness, their ambiguity, their unpredictableness; it will let time run its course, it will render to the world its menacing and luxurious opacity and to man his great patience.5

Beckmann's despondent feeling of homelessness and exclusion reflects the faint hope of the German in a dead nation, bombed and burned out, groping for the way back to life. Sartre's essential message, that man is condemned to free choice and that, specifically in this play, he must on the one hand refuse death and choose to live and, on the other, accept death as the termination of a consciousness which otherwise would be an absurd horror, is the expression of a proud Frenchman imprisoned in his occupied country, yet resolved to see it through.

Both writers accept man's existential guilt. Both are apparently pessimistic in their emphasis on the pain and disillusion, the grief and despair of existence; yet they reject death as a choice for man and deliberately commit their heroes to live on, thus affirming their belief in man's potential to realize the "possibilities of being" (Heidegger). In both plays the characters are stranded in unrelieved solitude, for they fail to reach the "being" (existentially expressed, the "Mitsein") in their fellow human beings. Common to both writers

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> J. P. Sartre, "Qu'est-ce que la Littérature? IV: Situation de l'écrivain en 47," Situations II, p. 250. 4 Ibid., p. 327, n. 10.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., pp. 253 f.

is the experience of confronting the void, of the silent absence of a Divine Being. Into this void Sartre has elevated man and considers this aspect of his *Weltanschauung* humanistic. Borchert, on the other hand, may have been leaning toward an ontocentric view, in the spirit of Heidegger. Sartre's basic convictions, his atheism and his humanism, and his unwavering certitude in expressing them, mark him as the disciple of Nietzsche. On the other hand, Borchert's position, as projected in Beckmann and in his last words, raises unanswered questions more in the spirit of the closing lines of *Sein und Zeit*.

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The extreme situation in Borchert's play is a living hell: the bomb-blasted, cold, selfish, post-war world as experienced by the returning soldier, whose reintegration is frustrated by the indifference of his fellow men and by his own existential guilt. He recognizes, with the help of the Other One, that the world is part of man's fundamental state of being, that it exists inasmuch as he exists, and that he must establish the relationship. These are basic aspects of Heidegger's concept of Erschlossenheit. Beckmann's frantic actions are directed toward gaining access to existence, to other people, to home. But all doors are closed, one after another, all save one, the door to death; and although Borchert's hero had slipped through and been ejected,

he is unwilling at the end to choose death again.

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The motive of the closing door occurs frequently in Borchert's work and invariably connotes something definitive and final. His earliest published prose work opens with the simple and ominous statement: "The door closed behind me." The writer Borchert is in solitary confinement—his only exercise, the daily monotonous marching around the narrow bounds of the yard, one prisoner ahead of him and one behind; always this man, this lifeless bald head, this thing ahead of him. Gradually, irrepressibly, hatred for this thing smoulders and flares within him. No one ahead can turn to look at the man behind him, for each one is only a man behind another; he sees only the one ahead and hates him. But inasmuch as each scorns the one behind, he becomes to that prisoner the man ahead. Thus each of us is at the same time one who hates and one who is hated: "That's the way it is behind the gray walls-that's the way it probably is elsewhere, perhaps everywhere" (p. 44). This thought is then further developed in The Man Outside to the point of identifying in one and the same man the murdered and the murderer. And yet, it is important to remember, the prisoner never desists from his search for something living, something vivid, even though it may be pursued

PMLA, LXVII (1952), 655-83, which the author found most stimulating.

<sup>7</sup> Die Hundeblume, Wolfgang Borchert, das Gesamtwerk, Mit einem biographischen Nachwort von Bernhard Meyer-Marwitz (Hamburg, 1949), p. 37. All references to Borchert pertain to this edition.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Sein und Zeit, Erste Hälfte (Tübingen, 1949), pp. 83-89, 365; also Hans Jaeger's "Heidegger's Existential Philosophy and Modern German Literature," PMLA, LXVII (1952), 655-83, which the author found most stimulating.

with but little hope. He finds a small measure of what he seeks in a bright, fragrant, tiny, little flower. That small speck of life he cherishes, for it frees him and delivers him from all that burdened him: "captivity, solitude, and the hunger for love, the helplessness of his twenty-two years, the present and the future, the world and Christianity—yes, that too!" (p. 52). With a new feeling of freedom and an eagerness for good, he clutches the little dandelion and whispers: to be like you. And that night he dreams of the sweet transformation: the dark good earth is piled upon him, flowers grow and bloom out of him, and tiny unpretending suns. His questions seem to be answered: "What thin thread catches us when we fall? Our own power? Does a god catch us? God—is that the power which makes a tree grow and a bird fly—is god life? If so, then sometimes he does catch us—when we wish it" (p. 38). This story sets the basic mood for the collection with its "mildly optimistic acceptance of life

through the miracle of existence."8

Beckmann, the man outside, is one of many, one of the soldiers who came home to find there was no longer any home for them. He bears the "ineffaceable stain" of war, without and within. A crippling wound in the knee is his "price of admission"; a ghastly dream inflames his mind and sears his consciousness. He stands in the cold and the dark. His wife he had found with another man, and his little son, whom he had never seen, lay buried somewhere under the rubble. And so as the play opens, he slips quietly into the river Elbe. But the river casts him contemptuously ashore again, this handful of life, this timorous beginner: "Get your fill of life, trample and be trampled, and when your heart comes crawling on all fours, then we'll hear your petition again" (p. 137). This is, of course, an expressionistic gesture of sardonic bitterness; but what happens when Beckmann's heart is eventually bent low? Why doesn't he return at the end of the play to petition death again? The answer is that he finds death to be as "senseless, insignificant, gray" as life. This removes Borchert's concept farther from the romantic longing for death, certain elements of which are still to be felt in Beckmann's plunge into the river, and ever closer to Sartre's view. And in this respect Borchert and Sartre seem to deviate strikingly from Heidegger, who conceives death as the last and most authentic possibility of that which is existentially impossible. But more of this later. At this point, cold, wet, alone, half corpse, half living thing, Beckmann is confronted by the Other One, the same one who knew him as schoolboy and soldier, the inescapable One of yesterday and tomorrow, whose voice is known to every man; the One who always affirms, always answers. And now that Beckmann wants to say No to life, he is there to counter with a calm persuasive Yes. Again and again on Beckmann's way he appears to summon him back from self-

<sup>8</sup> Adolf D. Klarmann, "Wolfgang Borchert: The Lost Voice of a New Germany," Germanic Review, XXVII (1952), 114.

destruction to life, to try one more road home, until finally he too falls silent.

Pathetically he drags himself from one bitter disappointment to the next, this poor soldier, "provisionally repaired for peace," "corpse Beckmann, Corporal discharged, human being discharged," and with each experience he sinks lower into the abyss of frustration and despair. He is rescued by a lonely girl, but the return of her soldierhusband drives him away; his former superior officer dismisses him with laughter; he sails "singing and swilling across the horror into eternal darkness," but only briefly, for the liquor wears off; there is no job for him, and the suicides of his mother and father preclude a return home. Beckmann's little remaining strength is exhausted by this experience, and despite the Other One he sinks into a troubled sleep. In a dream he turns unconsciously to religion for comfort and shelter. But the God he encounters in the orthodox heaven is a fairytale God, a theologian with ink in his veins, a pathetic lachrymose old man in whom no one bothers to believe any more; the same old man who had appeared in the Prologue by the river Elbe, weeping in numbed impotence. The thunder of the times drowns out his voice, in fact he is no longer a living god. Even God is thus outside. But there is one door open and that is death. Now the rasping sounds of Beckmann's tubercular lungs become the scraping noise of a streetcleaner's broom, and the street-cleaner is death. There Beckmann lies, before the open door of death, in the street. And the "good" people pass him by, "heedless, resigned, blasé, nauseated, and indifferent, indifferent, so indifferent" (p. 200); the Colonel, the Cabaret Manager, Frau Kramer, and Beckmann's wife. Only the girl seeks him, for she loves him. But the sound of crutches drives her away. The voice of her one-legged husband accuses him of murder, for Beckmann has usurped his place and thus driven him into the Elbe. With an admonition not to forget this murder, the one-legged man walks out of the dream. Beckmann awakes, alone; even the Other One is no longer by his side. He shudders to realize that he the murdered one, the man whom others had expelled from life, is also the murderer. The burden of this existential guilt is intolerable. He would die, but he knows that people will pass by the dead one as indifferently as by a cigarette butt, and thus his death would be like his life, "senseless, insignificant, gray" (p. 200). Why live? With whom? For what? Where is the one with the answers? Where is the old man they call God? In utter despair he cries out: "Tell me, why are you silent? Why? Is no one going to give me an answer? Will no one answer??? No one, no one answer???" (p. 200). The sound of closing doors heard throughout the play is now effectively transposed to the anguished outcry of man, the lonely outcast.

The Weltanschauung of Borchert's play seems to be unreserved nihilism. And yet certain circumstances must not be overlooked: "his youth, his state of health, and the fact that all his writing was

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crowded into two hectic disease-ridden years. The play was written in one week." Furthermore, the motto of the original Hörspiel, which was dropped in the published version, indicates that "nihilism was not his ultimate solution.... 'An injection of nihilism often produces this result, that out of sheer anxiety one regains his courage to live on.' " Professor Klarmann suggests that the pathetic impotence of God, as Beckmann sees it, be interpreted as a consequence of man's betrayal of God, which might mean that

God now waits to be redeemed through man. God's word can no longer be heard, for man is too loud and too possessed by his conceit and materialism. Could then the root of the sickness lie in man's betrayal of his God and its cure in a rededication to faith? Whether such faith would have found a positive expression in Borchert's later works, must remain a conjecture. One thing seems sure, however: Beckmann's argument with God is not the disputation of an avowed nihilist. (p. 111)

The observation is perceptive; but is the only antipode to the nihilist the man of faith? Is there really any possibility for Beckmann of faith in God? It must not be forgotten that the disputation with God is held in a dream and that Beckmann dismisses him variously as a fairy-tale God, a theologian with ink in his veins, and an old man-and this latter is the only designation for him which Borchert offers in the dramatis personae. Beckmann bids him farewell: "The old folks are the worst off today, the old ones who can't adjust any more to the new conditions" (p. 183). The heirs of Nietzsche hold to this view; they differ from the prophet only in the degree of their diagnosis of the moribund deity and in the nature of the substitution which they find or create or sense. For them the throne of the supraphenomenal, metaphysical, Christian other-world is vacated. In place of the Superman they proclaim Maximin, the Angels, or Being (Sein). Beckmann's tragic situation is so appalling because he is left in a vacuum with the old world in ruins about him and no indication of a new world before him. He is one of "the disinherited, to whom no longer the past and not yet the future belongs";11 a man alone "in the nothingness that follows the flight of the gods and immediately precedes the approach of the new."12 "We are a generation without leave-taking, but we know that all home-coming will be ours."13

But is there really nothing in the play which might be interpreted as a sign, as a possibility of some new value upon which to rebuild? The figure of the Other One immediately suggests itself, for in contrast to God, "in whom no one believes any more," the Other One is introduced as one "whom everyone knows" (dramatis personae). His existence is real, and his influence upon Beckmann

Quoted by Klarmann, p. 110.
 R. M. Rilke, Duineser Elegien, No. VII.

<sup>9</sup> Klarmann, p. 109.

 <sup>12</sup> M. Heidegger, Erläuterungen zu Hölderlins Dichtung (Frankfurt a.M., n.d.), p. 49.
 12 W. Borchert, Generation ohne Abschied, p. 79.

is demonstrated again and again. And yet who he is or what he is, remains a matter of speculation. He is obviously not the Christian conscience; nor can he represent some Schopenhauerian Will, for he seems to expire while Beckmann continues to exist. If we turn to existential philosophy, and specifically to Heidegger, some points of

contact can be adduced and some light transmitted.

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Heidegger undertakes a reëxamination of the meaning of Being (das Sein), and he approaches his task by analyzing human existence (das Descin). One basic part of the existential structure of man he characterizes as the possibility of being or not being one's own self, that is, the possibility of existing authentically or inauthentically. Authentic existence is to realize the truth about the proximity of Being and to live in the neighborhood of Being, to come home to Being. One testimony to the possibility of "being" Heidegger cites as the call of conscience. This voice calls man back from his absorption in the general public, the anonymous and inauthentic self (das Man), back to his true foundation and at the same time forward to the realization of his authentic possibility. Furthermore, it makes him understand his guilt, which consists of a basic twofold negativity.14 The understanding of the call of conscience then brings man to a state of resoluteness, to the act of projecting himself, in silence, prepared for dread, into a potentiality which is his very own. This resoluteness is a mode of authentic existence and makes possible the authentic fellowship of human beings. These views on human existence are the fruit of profound reflection and subtle analysis; they developed from the study of philosophy and the interpretation of poetry. Borchert's work springs from the immediacy and intensity of human experience; it is highly personal, but it is also an expression of the temper of his time. That Heidegger's existential philosophy exerted a direct influence on Borchert can neither be proved nor disproved at this time, nor does this question really determine the import of our interpretation. It should not be surprising after all for a philosopher and a poet to hold similar views independently. Beckmann has been "thrown" into life, into the vortex of war, and the waste land that followed. He sought to flee into death, without ever having realized any of his possibilities and without even knowing dread of death. His return to life is a merciless maneuver, but it is nevertheless an opportunity for Beckmann to become what he is. The voice of the Other One now persists in calling him back to life, again and again. In some significant respects Heidegger's conscience suggests lines of interpretation. When the Other One states, "You can't get rid of me" (p. 138), he clearly indicates the essential indissoluble relationship between himself and Beckmann, for the call of conscience orig-

<sup>14 &</sup>quot;Inasmuch as he is 'thrown' into the world, geworfen, man has no control over the basic ground of his existence and can never fully realize his most authentic possibilities. Inasmuch as he is a projection of his own self, Entwurf, he projects himself into some possibilities by rejecting others; he can not choose to realize all his possibilities." H. Jaeger, p. 661.

inates in man himself; and when he makes his first question, "Who are you?" (p. 139), he raises a fundamental issue which refers to man's true foundation. At first glance the Other One seems to be directing Beckmann toward absorption in other people, in the general public; but actually he is leading Beckmann back to himself, through the girl, and in the last analysis away from the general public (the Colonel and his family, the Cabaret Director, and Frau Kramer) by evoking a stinging revulsion in Beckmann. Beckmann's sense of guilt is, to be sure, not as subtle or as profound as Heidegger's analysis; but after all he is only a bewildered soldier, neither a poet

nor a philosopher.

However, this sense of guilt, into which the Other One has led him, has profound consequences. When, at the end of Scene 2, he is compelled to realize that he has usurped a husband's place, just as he had been displaced by another, and that his orders in battle were responsible for this same man's disability, he cries out in anguish: "I don't want to be Beckmann any more" (p. 148). Certainly the deeper significance of this outcry is that he no longer wants to be one of many, one of the legion of returning soldiers, one of the multitude of corporals who had had to send their fellow soldiers into death or permanent disability. It signifies his wish, conscious or unconscious, to be a human being, a differentiated, individualized being-in a word to be his own self. But poor Beckmann never comes to the state of resoluteness, although what he experiences ultimately is no longer fear but dread, the dread of the nothing and the nowhere which is yet something. It is true, of course, that Beckmann is overwhelmed by the world; however, his situation is not only existential, that is, inasmuch as it represents a man's search for his position in the world and in society, but also "essential," insofar as it is a search for his authentic home, which is Being. From this same perspective of existential philosophy as proposed by Heidegger, we might interpret Borchert's play also as an illustration of the futility of existential engagement which is not predicated upon "essential" engagement. This play may very well represent an anguished attempt to find a substitute for the silent impotent God so often encountered in Borchert's work. Beckmann's final indeterminate position with respect to the ultimate questions parallels Heidegger's speculations in the closing paragraph of his incomplete work, when he raises the question: can the study of human existence serve as an approach to the understanding of Being as such?

Borchert, however, did not always raise unanswered or unanswerable questions in the darkness of doubts and despair. He was at times a lantern in the night, no matter how feeble and flickering, a fulfillment of his own wish which he had made the motto to his small collection of poems. Professor Klarmann has clearly indicated the positive elements of his Weltanschauung in the early sketch, Conversation above the Roofs, and in the late works, Wood for Tomorrow,

That is Our Manifesto, and There's only One Thing.15 To supplement these, passing mention might be made here of the very interesting sketch, Thithyphuth, of early origin but included in the posthumous writings, which Meyer-Marwitz finds noteworthy because of its "abgründigen Humors" (p. 340). Although he only suggests the myth, Borchert emphasizes, somewhat grotesquely and yet also somewhat hopefully, the comic aspect of the absurd situation rather than the tragic, as Camus, for instance, interprets it. This work is a striking example of the triumph over existential guilt effected by laughter. Two men are brought together in a beer garden, each with the same speech defect; embarrassment, anger, humiliation, laughter, tears, and reconciliation follow. This is, in a sense, the tale of deliverance from an original fault, a deliverance given by the laughter of a man who had himself overcome a similar fault. The bridge from man to man is built, and because it is such a rare event in Borchert, it is doubly noteworthy. The writer's uncle is the protagonist, an ebullient, massive Apollo of a man who had lost a leg and part of his tongue in battle. He lisps, but "loud, laughing, lively, colossal, confident, Croesus" that he is, he acts as if he had no lisp at all. When a pathetic little waiter lisps his order, he is enraged; but his wrath is quickly converted to tender compassion when he learns that the poor man was born with this defect, and his booming laughter dissolves the tension and evokes tears of timid joy from the waiter's eyes. His vibrant splendid parting shout: "Thithyphuth, Thithyphuth, lithen to me. Tho long, old Thithyphuth. Till nextht Thunday, poor thap. Tho long," sweeps away the stigma of the old nickname, and the waiter is last pictured wiping away with his napkin "the whole gray world, all the beer gardens of the world, all the waiters, and all the speech defects of the world forever out of his life." In Borchert's world, so circumscribed by sickness, war, and early death, there are many little "waiters" but hardly any "uncles."

### II

The extreme situation of No Exit is hell, but the nature of this hell is intriguingly ambiguous. It is obviously not the hell of Dante, nor is it even that of G. B. Shaw. There is no boiling pitch, there are no frozen lakes, nor does a wise and witty devil entertain his visitors. The torturers are the victims themselves, each one torturing the others and being tortured in turn by them, and thus "hell is other people." This bon mot, which is the logical consequence of the philosopher's doctrine that "my original fall is the existence of other people," is skillfully projected into a dramatic situation. These people are condemned to be together, and their histories damn them all. Garcin, the adulterer and deserter, is harassed and then disgusted by Estelle who

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Gespräch über den Dächern, Das Holz für Morgen, Das ist unser Manifest, and Dann gibt es nur eins.
<sup>16</sup> L'être et le néant (Paris, 1943) p. 321.

desires only to possess him, while his sole concern is to justify his actions and convince someone that he is really by choice and intention a hero. Inez, to whom he turns, repels him contemptuously and derisively, branding him a coward; but at the same time she maliciously draws him away from Estelle when it seems he might be yielding. Estelle, the adultress and infanticide, is thwarted by the disinterest of the unmanly introvert and recoils from the blandishments and guile of the pervert, Inez. For her part Inez finds Garcin

loathsome, but she herself is spurned by Estelle.

These characters are unquestionably a hell to each other. But are they dead? Yes, for the situation seems to congeal about them until they finally realize the irremediable nature of their fate. H. J. Blackham suggests this interpretation: "The moral of the play is not the cry of Garcin towards the end, 'Hell is . . . other people!' It is the horror of human consciousness if it could not break off, if it could not be new, if it could only go on reproducing the past, if it were really determined, a fate."17 Human existence itself would be hell, if it were not finite and were not endowed with liberty. But death is not finite, nor is there any possibility of liberty for the dead. How then do we explain the most dramatic moment of the play, the moment when, in answer to Garcin's desperate entreaties, the door is suddenly flung open? At last Garcin seems to be offered some escape, yet he makes no move. Why not? If this were a literal hell and Garcin literally dead, there could be nothing more involved here than a change of scenery, the aspect of confinement for that of boundless extension. This would hardly explain his choice to remain. If, on the other hand, we entertain the thought that these characters are to be interpreted as alive also, in a living hell so to speak, then the open door would signify the escape from life into death, and Garcin's experience would be that of confronting the void, of encountering the nothingness. His choice to remain would then be an exercise of liberty, a clinging to the specifically human condition, for as long as Garcin continues to exist, he can hope at some time to realize the possibility of not being a coward. In this way Sartre, the moralist, in the spirit of his prophet Nietzsche, is admonishing his audience to look upon Garcin as a warning and to dedicate itself more resolutely to the practice of liberty and the hope of realizing its possibilities. And yet, at the same time, in accord with the essential ambiguity that is in the nature of all things, according to Sartre, for such a weakling as Garcin death is a merciful termination of a consciousness which would otherwise be an absurdity and a horror beyond comprehension and endurance.

This moment of the opening of the door is the culmination of Garcin's attempts to escape. If these people are literally dead, then the attempts to escape become monstrously absurd, and of course this might very well be Sartre's intimation. However, if the characters

<sup>17</sup> Six Existentialist Thinkers (London, 1952), p. 151.

are taken to suggest living figures, then their failures may be peak a further warning.18 These attempts to escape are not as frantic as Beckmann's actions to find his way back, but they are equally desperate. Garcin proposes insulation, silence, and introspection. In vain. He suggests they help each other, but they are all like hobbyhorses on a merry-go-round, chasing each other round and round, incapable of catching and incapable of aiding one another. Yet he does begin to think and experience collectively; he is the only one capable of conceiving the three as subjects of some joint action, i.e., of "l'être-avec [Mitsein] et le 'nous.' "19 But his hopes of thus overcoming this hellish situation are shattered principally because of his own inability to recognize the irreconcilable difference between his desire to be a hero and the fact that others see in him only the coward, the difference between the subjective consciousness and the consciousness observed, or as the philosopher Sartre has it, between the pour-soi as such and the pour-soi as l'en-soi. Furthermore, he and Estelle are guilty of bad faith when, in seeking to escape from themselves, they indulge in self-deception.

It is true, of course, that the "other people" of this play are obviously contrived for dramatic effect, but it would not in any way alter Sartre's essential meaning to cast the roles less radically. For in a deeper sense, first suggested by the constant illumination in the closed room which cannot be shut off and which allows no respite and no sleep, hell is the unremitting menace of the presence (i.e., the "there-ness") of other people, which presence is epitomized by the ever-watchful eyes of the others.20 The eyes of Inez, for example, thwart the determined attempt of Estelle and Garcin to make love, i.e., to share themselves, to know each other. Watchful eyes shatter lies and unmask subterfuge; each one feels himself stripped naked by the merciless stare of the other. In this sense the play projects dramatically the views of the philosopher Sartre, according to which the eyes of other people violate the inalienable personality of the existent which is observed and reduce each subjective consciousness to an object, thus threatening to engulf a dynamic liberty with static viscosity. This is an interesting philosophical counterpart to Borchert's hectic image of the prisoners in the story of The Dandelion, previously mentioned.

previously mentioned.

It is perhaps strange that Sartre nowhere explores the possibility of transcending an extreme situation which Nietzsche prescribed: laughter, the brave little madness of Zarathustra, the lesson which Hesse's Steppenwolf had to learn, the deliverance which is given to

10 L'être et le néant, pp. 484-503.

20 Ibid., pp. 310-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Inez, the homosexual, is the only one not guilty of bad faith; she is a perfectly authentic liberty and viewed in this light she may, like Wedekind's Countess Geschwitz, be an appeal to the public to judge the homosexual without prejudice and malice and to understand qualities which lie beneath that which is considered perversion.

Borchert's Thithyphuth. The laughter which bursts out momentarily at the end of the play is no escape and no transcendence, for it is born of horror and hysteria and it fades away quickly and pathetically. Yet despite the fact that they have all been cast into existence and abandoned there, and though they utter no appeal to a supraphenomenal being and find no means of aiding one another, Sartre closes his play with the stoic exhortation of Garcin, the deserter: "Very

well, then let's get on with it."

In the last analysis Sartre's people are really searching for a reason and a justification for existence in the sense of "being-there" (Dasein). It is merely academic to distinguish in Sartre's work between authentic and inauthentic existence, for the authentic existence, that is "the project of metamorphosing one's own prereflective consciousness into a synthesis of this consciousness and being-in-itself," is impossible since it would mean a vain attempt to lose oneself to become God. This Sartre demonstrated in Goetz von Berlichingen, who, by usurping miraculous powers (inflicting the stigmata himself) and becoming the Prince of Good, finds that he has only separated and isolated himself from men. And since he knows that man is the sole experiential and intelligible reality, he must draw the inescapable conclusion: "If God exists, man is nothing; if man exists..." Like Kafka's characters, these Sartre figures are pursuing "factuality" rather than essential existence or Being.

### III

The contrast between Sartre and Borchert, so strikingly evident in the diverse matrices and polar aspects of existential philosophy, is also apparent in their antithetical techniques. Sartre's control of form, his technical skill in unfolding the histories of his characters and in developing the tense situation, are evidence of his intellectual detachment, one might say, of his philosophic objectivity. On the other hand, the loose construction and episodic nature of *The Man Outside* attest to its author's impassioned subjectivity and his poetic frenzy.

Sartre has constructed his one-act play logically and incisively; the entry or exit of a character changes the scene; following the exposition are three short scenes; the fifth scene, which finds the three characters alone together, comprises four-fifths of the play; the dénouement (i.e., after the unexpected opening of the door) is swift and sharp. Borchert's technique is more fluid; the Other One appears in every scene, except the third, like a constantly recurring theme; three times the locale shifts from an interior to the street, and the change is effected not so much by stage directions as by the sound

<sup>23</sup> Le Diable et le bon Dieu (Paris, 1951), p. 267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> L'être et le néant, p. 708: "projet direct de métamorphoser son propre Pour-soi en En-soi-Pour-soi."

<sup>22</sup> Idem: "car l'homme se perd en tant qu' homme pour que Dieu naisse. Mais l'idée de Dieu est contradictoire et nous nous perdons en vain..."

of a closing door. The play is introduced by a prologue, where the identity of the speakers is transposed from the concrete to the abstract, and by a very brief dream colloquy between Beckmann and the river Elbe, which all but defies staging. The audience, however, is attuned to the play even before this by a kind of overture or, perhaps more appropriately, by an orchestral tuning up—the remarkable dramatis personae. This, of course, must be heard. The high frequency of alliteration throughout the play is also more apposite to radio performance than stage delivery.

The situation of No Exit is visual, and its ironic wit best suited to the declamation of a polished actor, whereas Borchert's anguished outcry is perhaps better heard and his expressionistic fever best communicated through a medium which excludes all else but the tonal effect. Two plays, one a brilliant philosophic exercise, the other an impassioned outcry; both born of despair, yet sustained by a stoic will; one an expression of a new humanism, the other gravitating toward Being; while for both writers there remains no faith, no love,

only hope.

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### REVIEWS

Bibliography of Chaucer, 1908-1953. By DUDLEY DAVID GRIFFITH. Seattle: University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. 13, 1955. Pp. xviii + 398. \$5.00.

Few poets, it has been said, owe so much to scholarship as Chaucer. And the work of refining our understanding of Chaucer's poetry goes on at full tilt, resulting in a yearly increment of publications that is exceeded in bulk only by Shakespeare and Milton studies. For the control of the earlier scholarship, we are fortunate in the possession of the pioneer bibliographies of Caroline Spurgeon and Eleanor Hammond, and, for the period 1908-1924, we have Professor Griffith's first manual, published in 1926. Because of the steadily increasing flow of Chaucer material in subsequent years, however, the task of combing through the voluminous annual bibliographies, Wells's Manual with its nine supplements, and various selective lists had become arduous and time-consuming indeed.

Professor Griffith's new bibliography, then, is assured of a hearty welcome, especially since it follows roughly the familiar organization of his earlier book and maintains the same high standards of completeness and accuracy. Moreover, it repeats all the entries of his 1926 bibliography, now out of print, and includes some items missed by Spurgeon and Hammond. Since it carries us through 1953, we are able to find almost at a glance the publications on a given topic that have

appeared over a period of nearly half a century.

The first portion of the work, comprising 150 pages, lists concordances, bibliographies, biographical studies, and treatments of such other preliminary matters as manuscripts, editions, modernizations, general criticism, allusions, style, language, and words. These topical divisions represent some elaboration of the plan of corresponding chapters of the 1926 bibliography in acknowledgment of the fact, noted by Professor Griffith in his Introduction (p. viii), that great attention has been paid in late years to Chaucer's style and to the four-teenth-century meaning of words. The word-study section (pp. 143-50), however, is disappointing because the compiler has not always indicated what words are dealt with in the articles listed here (see entries under Curry, p. 144; Einarsson, p. 145; Hinckley, p. 146; etc.). Perhaps he would have done well to arrange this material according to an alphabetical listing of the individual words (such as the vexed "kankedort") that have been discussed, as does Kennedy in his Bibliography of Writings on the English Language (pp. 141-47, 184-86).

The second portion (pp. 151-313) collects the publications devoted to literary interpretation. In the same fashion as in the 1926 bibliography, a distinction is made between the more general discussions and commentaries on details of single works. Those general treatises which also focus on particular works, such as Laura Hibbard Loomis' "Chaucer and the Breton Lays of the Auchinleck MS" (see pp. 157 and 204), are properly entered under two or three heads. The omission of two items in this part—Germaine Dempster's "Some Old Dutch and Flemish Narratives and Their Relation to Analogues in the Decameron" (JEGP, XLVII [1932], 923-48) and Laura Sumner's edition of The Wedding of Gawain (Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, V [1924])—seems to me worth mentioning because each has easily as much to do with The Canterbury Tales as numerous other listings in the manual. Nevertheless, this portion of the bibliography appears to be remarkably complete.

The concluding sections—concerned with fourteenth-century backgrounds, historical, philosophical, social, economic, religious, scientific, and artistic—are highly selective, having been thoughtfully winnowed from the great mass of works which could have been set down.

The index of the book could have been improved by a more liberal policy of inserting such subject entries as "rhetoric," "liturgy," "rash promise," and "loathly lady." For the other mechanical aspects, it may be said that the book is compact and that the typographical errors seem to be very few. The type-writer-offset process has resulted in a not unpleasing page and is perfectly adequate for works of this kind.

In short, Professor Griffith's new bibliography is a fine, enduring book which could have been achieved only by a thoroughly seasoned Chaucerian.

ROBERT W. ACKERMAN

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Musique et Poésie au XVIº siècle. Paris: Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Sciences Humaines V, 1954. Pp. 384. 1.600 frs.

"Le but des colloques du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique est de réunir un petit nombre de spécialistes de diverses nations et de diverses disciplines afin d'examiner sous ses principaux aspects un problème suffisamment délimité pour permettre aux participants d'entreprendre un effort de synthèse. Le Colloque Musique et Poésie au XVIo siècle groupait des historiens de la littérature et de la musique ainsi que des esthéticiens."

Thus Jean Jacquot stated the topic and aim of the conference, held in Paris during the week of June 30 to July 4, 1953. The complete record of the colloquium is presented in this volume of twenty-three papers to each of which is appended the discussion that ensued. An indication of the scope of the topics and the manner in which the aims of the conference were realized may be gained from the titles of the papers read. After inaugural discourses by Raymond Lebègue, professor of French literature at the Sorbonne, and Jacques Chailley, director of the Institute of Musicology of the University of Paris, the following papers were presented:

"Le chant orphique de Marsile Ficin," D. P. Walker, Warburg Institute, University of London

"La musique espagnole à la Cour de Naples dans la seconde moitié du XVº siècle," Isabel Pope, Cambridge, Massachusetts

"La frottola et la transition de la frottola au madrigal," Nanie Bridgman, librarian of the department of music, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

"Musique et poésie en France au XVIº siècle avant les Amours de Ronsard," G. Thibault, director of the Société de Musique d'Autrefois, Paris

"Maurice Scève et la Musique," V. L. Saulnier, professor of French literature at the Sorbonne

"Ronsard et la Musique," Raymond Lebègue

"La chanson anglaise avant l'école madrigaliste," Denis Stevens

"L'influence de la musique italienne sur le madrigal anglais," J. A. Westrup, professor of music, Oxford

"Lyrisme et sentiment tragique dans les madrigaux d'Orlando Gibbons," J. Jacquot, research director at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, Paris "La mélancolie au début du XVII<sup>®</sup> siècle et le madrigal anglais," Wilfrid Mellers, University of Birmingham

"Eléments populaires dans la chanson française au début du XVIº siècle," François Lesure, librarian of the department of music, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris

"Vaudeville, vers mesurés et airs de Cour," K. J. Levy, Princeton University

"Rôle de la danse dans l' 'ayre' anglais," Thurston Dart, fellow, Jesus College, Cambridge

"Poésie et air de Cour en France jusqu'à 1620," André Verchaly, secretary of the Société Française de Musicologie

"Esprit et technique du chromatisme de la Renaissance," Jacques Chailley

"Poésie et musique dans les 'Magnificences' au mariage du duc de Joyeuse, Paris, 1581," Frances A. Yates, Warburg Institute, University of London

"L' 'aria di maggio' et le travestissement spirituel de la poésie profane en Italie," Federico Ghisi, University of Florence

"L' 'Edipo Tiranno' d'Andrea Gabrieli et la Renaissance de la tragédie grecque," Leo Schrade, professor of the history of music, Yale University

"Tragédie et comédie dans la Camerata fiorentina," Nino Pirrotta, director of the Bibliothèque Santa Cecilia, Rome

"Importance historique et nationale de romance," Miguel Querol-Gavalda, vicedirector of the Institut Espagnol de Musicologie

"L'Espagne du XVIº siècle, source d'inspiration du génie héroïque de Monteverdi," Suzanne Clercx, University of Liège

The scope of the subject matter treated in these papers is certainly broad; yet two fields of investigation seem to have been tacitly excluded from discussion: religious music and poetry and German contributions to sixteenth-century musical and poetic art. Nevertheless, these omissions need not have deterred the participants from achieving the intent of the conference, for the attempt at a synthesis of the material presented was not jeopardized by the omissions noted above. On the contrary, the limitation to secular music was advantageous to this end. Yet the broad view of the subject of music and poetry in the sixteenth century was not achieved because the central problem of the relationship between music and poetry—a problem of aesthetics—was not presented as an essential topic of the conference. Only during the general discussion held after all the papers had been read was this problem brought to the fore. A most lively discussion took place at that time, but had this subject been handled in a group of prepared papers, the discussion that followed would have been more fruitful and the aim of a synthesis might have been achieved.

Nevertheless, this kind of conference has merits that are readily apparent. Great good is bound to result from the interaction of disciplines which too often work in isolation. And the intermingling of scholars, not only from different fields, but from different national backgrounds, leads to the breakdown of narrow, nationalistic viewpoints, which, when focused on a period such as the sixteenth century, can only lead to a falsification of the true state of affairs.

The papers, taken within their own context, are generally of an exceptionally high quality, and the reader will find much that is new, fascinating, and illuminating.

ALVIN JOHNSON

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Tillatson: A Study in Seventeenth-Century Literature. By LOUIS G. LOCKE. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, Anglistica, Vol. IV, 1954. Pp. 187. Dan. kr. 23.00; to subscribers, Dan. kr. 16.50.

There long has been a need for an adequate study of Archbishop Tillotson to replace Birch's eighteenth-century memoir. The real significance of this representative and influential man requires definition of a kind it has never received. Regretfully, however, one must record that the present book leaves much of the job to be done.

The subtitle "A Study in Seventeenth-Century Literature" is rather misleading. In fact, only one chapter deals with literature of that century; two are concerned with influences, real and suspected, of Tillotson's style in the next age. In addition, there is a chapter of biography and one concerned with the thought of Tillotson and its relationships. Only 130 pages in all are devoted to an attempt to give an account of all sides of a complex and extensive career. The

result, as could be expected, is superficial.

The tone is often redolent of the official laudatory memoir of the type eighteenth-century editors were in the habit of writing. We find such sentences as this: "The righteous care of the parents was amply rewarded by the filial piety of the son..." (p. 17); the language for death involves "bereavement." The tone is not a surface one only: it permeates the treatment of the most important issues. Thus a central problem in Tillotson's biography and thought is the reason for his abandonment of James II, as well as of the principles of nonresistance and passive obedience which he had strenuously advocated, only a few years before, in the Lord Russell case. The intellectual justification for that change involves fundamental concepts about the nature of society, religion, and government. Yet the arguments are dismissed with the remark, "Let us leave such casuistical rationalization to the seventeenth century ..." (p. 42). Such a remark betrays a notion of "progress," a belief that the past is happily left behind, that Tillotson was one of the emancipated, or nearly emancipated, souls who transcended the limitations of their time to anticipate the "enlightened" world ahead. Such an attitude until recently has been the curse of studies in this period.

The superficiality, accompanied by inaccuracy in some instances, often obscures the real meaning of events. Thus Locke quite properly gives attention to Tillotson's crucial sermon of November 5, 1678, but the brief and unenlightening account leaves us with only a bare notion of what happened. There is the implication that the whole sermon related to the Popish Plot, and no realization that this was a Gunpowder Plot anniversary observance. To consider it in this way is to reverse its real point. Locke says that "discovery of the famous Popish Plot" had just been made; he adds that Titus Oates's "deposition was made on Michaelmas Eve (Sept. 29); the next day Godfrey was found murdered" (p. 29). In fact, Oates executed his perjuries before Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey on September 6, and again on September 28; Godfrey disappeared on October 12, and his body was found on October 17. The whole episode is a splendid piece of stage management, artfully planned, with spaced incidents designed to accumulate the tension over the Papist "menace." The funeral was delayed for two weeks, so that it would fall as close as possible to the Gunpowder Plot anniversary. By this time, it was said, men would hang a Papist dog or cat. The logical climax of this wave of frenzy would be the Gunpowder Plot anniversary sermon traditionally preached before Commons. In this situation Tillotson, as England's most respected preacher, could have struck a vital blow for Shaftesbury had he, like many high clergymen, embraced the Country Party. On the contrary, with consummate and statesmanlike art-and with courage, too-he sounded a note of reasonableness and Christian charity. Most of the sermon repeats the classical formulas of Gunpowder Plot sermons. A passage beginning "Such a mystery of iniquity," which Locke takes to refer to the Popish Plot, clearly refers to the much earlier one. Only toward the end, and in the briefest and most formal words possible, does Tillotson refer to the great event of the moment. Moreover, while ostensibly and actually preaching against the dangers of conspiracies, he obliquely points to the menace of Protestant fanaticism against all Catholics: he points out that the Gunpowder Plot itself was a freakish thing, "censured by catholics and priests, contrary to [Sir Everard Digby's] expectation"; he has the temerity to hint doubt that, contrary to what had become one of the most inflammatory articles of belief of Protestants, the Pope may not be specifically "designed in Scripture" as the Antichrist; the point of saying that "true Christianity is not only the best, but the best-natured institution in the world" is clear when bigotry was at a peak hardly ever matched.

The whole episode is a key to Tillotson's career, to the seeming time-serving and abandonment of "principle" which it has been so difficult for his own contemporaries as well as posterity to understand. He was the ecclesiastical statesman who sought to lead England safely through the aftermath of the terrible era of religious wars that had swept Europe; there were in England the makings of another Germany, and it is against this background that he must be seen. It is quite unfair to say that "Tillotson sat in vain at Cudworth's feet" (p. 19); seen in its setting, Tillotson's sermon of 1678 matches Cudworth's great discourse of 1647.

The chapter "The Mind of Tillotson" gives a useful, although in no respect new, account of his thought, with some of its relationships. It may be doubted, however, that the Discourse against Transubstantiation involves any argument so new as to anticipate John Locke's sensationism. The work does, however, demonstrate the materialist bias of the baroque age, that bias manifested in More's "indiscerptible matter" and in Milton's material angels. Other important questions about Tillotson remain to be studied: his ambiguity on the problem of the goodness of human nature, for example, and his true relationship to the Cambridge Platonists.

On the subject of Tillotson's style the present book is least satisfactory. There is very little use of the scholarship which has, within the past thirty years, revolutionized our understanding of seventeenth-century styles. R. F. Jones's "The Attack on Pulpit Eloquence in the Restoration," which is pertinent to the development of clarity and simplicity as ideals of sermonizing, is nowhere mentioned. Nor is George Williamson's *The Senecan Amble*. The basis of the discussion is the kind of generalization that could have been written thirty years ago:

The writers of the old prose did not generally state an idea and then pass on to another; everything had to be said several different ways in order to show the facets of each thought. It was a leisurely mode of writing which preferred to reach its destination by devious and circuitous paths rather than by following the way of mathematical directness. (p. 112)

The "old prose," we are told, is that of "Donne, Sir Thomas Browne, and Milton." The Senecan-type, pointed, witty style of Donne is of course the antithesis of Milton's Ciceronianism; the distance between them is the measure of the scope of seventeenth-century prose. The separateness of prose styles in the first half of the century may indeed be one reason for the revolution of the

middle of the century; and without appreciation of the cross-currents in the first part of the period one cannot understand the remarkable transformation that followed.

The question of Tillotson's direct, personal influence is perhaps not of the first importance. Certainly, Locke attributes more to him than seems justified; but the really important point is that Tillotson became the symbol of a momentous change in writing. He epitomized the movement from rhetoric to exposition. That change reflects deep cultural movements; ideas of society and about the apprehension of reality are involved. To think of that change as simply a manifestation of "progress" from the "old prose" to a newer, more efficient one, is to limit our perception greatly.

The challenge of Tillotson remains. The present book provides some useful raw material for solving that challenge, and it may direct attention and interest to a neglected but interesting figure.

ERNEST TUVESON

University of California

Coleridge and Sara Hutchinson and the Asra Poems. By George WHALLEY. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955. Pp. xxi + 188. \$4.50.

One of the most tantalizing problems in Coleridge biography has been his relationship with Sara Hutchinson. Bit by bit during the last twenty-five years fascinating details of that relationship have been revealed. First there was Mr. Raysor's publication in 1929 of excerpts from the notebooks (Studies in Philology, XXVI, 305); then De Selincourt's publication in 1936 of the original version of Dejection: An Ode addressed to Sara; then Miss Coburn's edition of the Letters of Sara Hutchinson; and now Mr. Whalley's full-dress study which leaves us more tantalized, if possible, than ever.

Mr. Whalley sets before us some new material, particularly a manuscript notebook called "Sarah Hutchinson's Poets" into which Sara (as Coleridge always spelled her name) has copied twenty-five poems from Wordsworth and eleven from Coleridge. Some of Coleridge's poems are written or corrected in his hand. The entries cannot be dated exactly, but were probably made at varying intervals between 1801 and 1810. There is one hitherto unpublished poem, a light-hearted piece of doggerel about himself and Wordsworth written in 1800 or 1801, and fifteen hitherto unpublished introductory lines for the little poem later called "Time, Real and Imaginary." The rest of the entries are copies of poems published by Coleridge, mainly in the Morning Post.

The first section of his book Mr. Whalley devotes to detailed description of the notebook. And in the third and last sections he labors hard, but unconvincingly, to demonstrate that the poems display "a compact and intricate coherence which arises not from the way the selection was made, but from the informing impulse of the poems themselves. The thread of unity, though deeply submerged, is Coleridge's love for Asra." But only three of the poems seem to have any connection with Sara; none of the important Asra poems, such as the "Dejection" epistle, is included. Few of the poems have any poetic worth; they are for the most part occasional pieces which could have found their way into the notebooks quite casually. Mr. Whalley's principal argument for internal unity is based upon a similarity of images and themes in these poems and in the Asra poems; but this is a treacherous argument because most of these images and themes appear in poems written long before Coleridge knew Sara.

In the central section of his book Mr. Whalley painstakingly assembles all the data at present available to us on the relationship of Coleridge and Sara between 1799 and 1810. As we read, we become aware of how little still is known of Sara and her role in the relationship. There is, for example, no evidence that Sara was in love with Coleridge, or that she ever felt for him much more than pity and affection. Certainly there is nothing to indicate that she was ever his mistress. It is dangerous to generalize, of course. In one sense there is quite literally no evidence; it is almost as if sources of information concerning Sara for this period had been systematically blotted out. We have no clear description of her personality; we do not even know what she looked like. None of her letters to Coleridge seems to have survived, and her few remarks about him in the letters edited by Miss Coburn are noncommittal and even withdrawn. The references by the Wordsworths are at first casual and incidental, but after Coleridge's return from Malta cautious and protective. Our primary source of information remains Coleridge himself in his letters, his poems, and, above all, his notebooks. And these would suggest that his love for Sara is projected upon his loneliness and insecurity and that any statement of reciprocation is the product of his wishful dreams, founded on her sympathy and kindness toward him. The most pathetic entries in the notebooks are those in 1807-1808 in which he reveals his jealousy of Wordsworth and his fear that Sara prefers Wordsworth to him, and those in 1810 after the separation from the Wordsworths. Among the latter entries is a Latin poem to Wordsworth, published here for the first time, in which he accuses Wordsworth of ordering him to forget Sara. In general, the notebook entries are the dramatic high points of the book. How they do whet our appetites for the edition of the notebooks which Miss Coburn is preparing!

Mr. Whalley has provided us with a convenient and useful reference work. He has refrained, probably correctly, from any attempt to color the data with speculations or interpretations drawn from a larger frame of reference, except in his discussion of the notebook poems. But in doing so he has demonstrated that the Coleridge-Sara relationship is neither very meaningful nor very interesting in itself, at least in the present state of our knowledge. In spite of his argument to the contrary in the preface, it scarcely justifies being lifted out and treated in isolation from the rest of Coleridge's activities during this period. Its significance is in the way it illuminates the workings of Coleridge's mind, and thus helps us to a more complete understanding of his complex nature. Where it would become truly meaningful is in the full-scale biographical study of Coleridge after 1800 which is so urgently needed and which perhaps the forthcoming editions of letters and notebooks will prompt Mr. Whalley to undertake.

EDWARD E. BOSTETTER

University of Washington

George Moore: A Reconsideration. By MALCOLM BROWN. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955. Pp. xix + 235. \$4.50.

Professor Malcolm Brown's George Moore: A Reconsideration is a welcome addition to the critical writings about the controversial Anglo-Irish author, whose books are at present more or less out of critical and popular fashion, and whose literary reputation has suffered both from his detractors and from the rather apologetic idolators who surrounded him in his old age. During his lifetime, George Moore was frequently the storm center of one controversy or

another, and this, with his personal irascibility, while leading to many amusing tales about him, has done much to cloud his very real contribution to English literature.

In his balanced study, Professor Brown has steered a course between the detractors and the idolators and has given a reappraisement of nearly all of Moore's books, including extended discussions of Martin Luther, Flowers of Passion, Pagan Poems, Parnell and His Island, and Mike Fletcher, all of which have largely been neglected or summarily dismissed by previous commentators, presumably because they had been rejected and disowned by their creator, despite the fact that they played an important role in his development as a master of English prose. As Professor Brown points out in his book, the latter "three of them are essential for understanding Moore" and for bridging the gap "between the callowness of his first works... and the consummate skill of his later manner... a gap whose breadth is difficult to match in the history of English literature."

Moore was his own severest critic, forever rewriting, seldom satisfied with his achievement, continually passing on to new forms of literary self-expression, instead of repeating a successful formula, as did so many of his contemporaries. This resulted in several totally different phases of Moore's writing, leading step by step from the early "naturalism" of A Mummer's Wife and Esther Waters to the tapestry-like quality of The Brook Kerith and Héloïse and Abélard.

Professor Brown fully discusses these varying phases, and it is a joy to find in this discerning study that he has related Moore's life, with its many absurdities, to his books, and in turn has pointed out the books' relationship to each other, in a detailed chronological discussion of the major works. However, there is one rather peculiar and unexplained omission, that of A Story-Teller's Holiday which is partly autobiographical but mostly a retelling of some of the old Irish legends, and which some readers consider to be Moore's "most joyous book."

The complexities of the bibliographical problems due to Moore's seemingly endless revisions have led Professor Brown into a few unimportant errors, such as attributing, on page 25, a sentiment in Confessions of a Young Man to Moore's "old age," when actually that particular passage was added when he was 37, in the almost unknown "third edition," published in 1889, the year after the first edition was published. Another minor point is that the play The Strike at Arlingford was produced at the Independent Theatre, London, February 21, 1893, although the statement is made on page 123 that it was "never performed."

Apart from such minor flaws, George Moore: A Reconsideration is an exceptionally fair and perceptive study, and it is to be hoped that it will send students and readers back to the books of this currently neglected writer, a trip which I am sure they will find rewarding.

EDWIN GILCHER

Cherry Plain, New York

Whitman's Manuscripts: Leaves of Grass (1860), A Parallel Text. Edited with Notes and Introduction by Fredson Bowers. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. lxxiv + 264. \$12.50.

Until recent years most critics assumed that Walt Whitman was a hasty and careless composer of his poems, though anyone who has ever had a glimpse

of the poet's manuscripts knows that he revised indefatigably. Selected manuscripts have been edited by Holloway, Furness, Gohdes and Silver, and a few others, but Fredson Bowers, recognized in both England and America as one of the outstanding bibliographers of the present century, is the first scholar to edit a large group of poem holographs with modern scientific bibliographical techniques. This book initiates a new stage of Whitman scholarship and is likely to have farreaching consequences.

The manuscripts edited in this volume are from the collection which Clifton Waller Barrett recently donated to the University of Virginia Library. They represent, as the editor states, "the largest single accumulation in existence of Whitman's holograph verse." They include the majority of the new poems in Whitman's crucial 1860 edition, though often not in the version printed in that edition, and therein lies their chief value. Whitman had scarcely published his second edition in 1856 before he began making preparations for a third, amplified, edition of his poems. Some time late in 1858 or 1859 (Bowers thinks the latter) Whitman turned over a batch of holographs to his friends, the Rome Brothers in Brooklyn, to set in type. Whether he intended to have the Rome Brothers print the new edition as a private publication, like the 1855 Leaves of Grass, or whether he was merely having the poems set in type in order to obtain proof copies (a known practice of his) is not certain. Early in 1860 Thayer and Eldridge of Boston offered Whitman a contract for a new edition, which he accepted. For the Boston edition he may have used revised proofs of the manuscripts he had turned over to the Rome Brothers, but he left the holographs with them. Though these holographs changed hands several times before Mr.

Barrett bought them, they have remained virtually intact.

Professor Bowers' edition enables Whitman students to trace the formation of the poet's plans for his third edition and to study the evolution of some very important poems, especially the group called "Calamus." Particularly revealing is a numbered group resembling a sonnet sequence. But equally important is the evolution of "Starting from Paumanok," first called "Premonition," in which the fluctuation of the poet's literary purposes may be seen. This edition has, therefore, both textual and biographical significance.

By a close study of paper, ink, handwriting, subject matter, and sometimes even of the pinholes that reveal which scraps of paper were once pinned together in a sequence, the editor has been able to determine, in most cases with convincing plausibility, the order of composition and the relationship of parts. But the book is necessarily so detailed and the bibliographical descriptions so meticulous that only the expert will find it useful. For him, however, it is a model of bibliographical science.

GAY WILSON ALLEN

New York University

Vorkommen, gebietsmäßige Verbreitung und Herkunft altenglischer absoluter Partizipialkonstruktionen in Nominativ und Akkusativ. By E. von Schau-Bert. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 1954. Pp. 200. DM 16.00.

This is a rather successful attempt to document the history of a common feature of English syntax known as the "absolute participial construction." Schaubert is interested here specifically in the Old English period, although his modern examples include an excursus on the quaint Irish forms illustrated in the works of Lady Gregory, Synge, and Yeats, where the construction is char-

acteristically introduced with the words and and with; e.g.: "It is a queer story he wouldn't let his own wife touch him, and he dying quiet in his bed" (Synge, quoted on page 189).

The clear-cut nature of this construction in the modern period leads Schaubert to the examination of less easily recognized possibilities in Old English literature, whereby he is often forced to reinterpret an obscure passage for the purpose of producing data. Thus, he interprets the questionable lines 2105-6 of Beowulf as follows:

pær wæs gidd and gleo, gomela Scilding fela friegende— feorran rehte.

There was narration and (musical) entertainment; the aged Scilding—being asked by many—told of old times.

Happily enough, such efforts to lay the material on a Procrustean bed are strikingly fortunate, and the necessity for such efforts is justified by an examination of translated texts in which the Latin models leave no ambiguity regarding textual interpretation.

It is interesting to note that Schaubert finds convincing proof of the fact that the absolute participial construction flourished only in Anglian texts, so that he is able to offer two possible solutions as to its origin: (1) the construction was indigenous to Anglian and not to West Saxon, or (2) the Irish monks whose influence predominated in Anglian areas introduced a brand of Latin which favored the construction. Both of these solutions leave much to be desired, particularly the latter, and, as Schaubert seems to suggest, they may be only two aspects of the same phenomenon. The Latin influence, which has long been assumed by scholars, seems clearly undeniable, and further evidence as to the origin of the absolute participial construction is tenuous enough. Schaubert's most valuable contribution, therefore, appears to lie in his demonstration of deviating dialect structure and his subsequent delineation of a syntactical frame within which certain disputed textual obscurities may now receive some light.

CARROLL E. REED

University of Washington

The Publication of English Humaniora in Germany in the Eighteenth Century. By MARY BELL PRICE and LAWRENCE M. PRICE. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 44; London: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. xxxiii + 216. \$2.25.

The Prices' Publication of English Literature in Germany in the Eighteenth Century (1934) was restricted to belles-lettres, narrowly defined, to which some reviewers objected. "After considering this criticism for twenty years," writes Professor Price, "we decided that the critics were right." Humaniora is thus a supplement to the earlier Publication. These two volumes, together with the work of Irene Wiem for the period 1518-1600 and of Gilbert Waterhouse for the seventeenth century, make up a combined work which might go under the title "The Publication of English Literature in Germany, 1518-1800." Humaniora also supplements Professor Price's English Literature in Germany (1953), for it takes into consideration the diffusion of theological, philosophical, and political ideas, including the spread of English rationalism through the medium of early

German freemasonry, which will please at least one recent reviewer of that volume.

In his Introduction Professor Price discusses several topics, most important perhaps the trend of German interest from strictly theological English works in 1700 to most diverse works by 1800, and the incursion into Germany of the philosophical ideas of Shaftesbury and Locke. As everywhere in Price's writings, flashes of sly and gentle humor illuminate the solid scholarly matter.

The bibliography proper lists in 197 pages the German translations and in a few instances the precedent French or Dutch translations, plus sources and contemporary reviews, of some 1,400 English books. The most-translated authors, to judge by the space accorded them here, are Richard Baxter, Benjamin Franklin, David Hume, John Locke, Thomas Paine, William Penn, Joseph Priestley, and Isaac Watts, each with two pages. The entries for Francis Bacon, John Bunyan, Gilbert Burnet, James Cook, Georg Forster, Edward Gibbon, Joseph Hall, the Earl of Shaftesbury, William Sherlock, John Tillotson, and Arthur Young amount to a page each.

A classified index of English authors supplies a résumé of the chief fields covered and their relative importance, indicated here by the number of authors listed under each heading: anthropology, 16; belles-lettres and rhetoric, 42; biography, 51; history, 132; philology, 32; philosophy, 74; physical geography, 43; political theory, 83; theology, including Christian history, religious and devotional works, 241; travel, 105; and voyages, discoveries, explorations, 57. The index of German translators and editors has 511 entries.

As Professor Price says, it will remain for special investigators to exploit the raw material here collected, although he has given some of the conclusions which lie closest at hand. Such researchers will be grateful for the collecting and assembling that have been done and will find the offset reproduction no hindrance to their labors. We can be sure that the twenty years since the appearance of Publication have not been years lost for scholarship, but rather years of further collecting, refining, and perfecting.

RICHARD F. WILKIE

University of Washington

Realism and Reality: Studies in the German Novelle of Poetic Realism. By WALTER SILZ. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages and Literatures, No. 11, 1954. Pp. xiv + 168. \$4.00, paper; \$4.50, cloth.

Silz's essays on the German novelle, appearing in the same year as the monumental Geschichte der deutschen Novelle by Johannes Klein, attest the increasing interest among Germanists in this genre. The present studies in the novelle of poetic realism mark a welcome addition to the sparse critical literature in English on a genre generally regarded as one of the chief contributions of German creative writing. Those already acquainted with Silz's articles in this field (portions of the chapters on Droste-Hülshoff, Keller, and Storm have previously appeared in the PMLA and German Quarterly) have learned to expect stimulating and illuminating interpretations from him, and these expectations are fulfilled by this extension of his earlier studies.

Since the author disclaims any intention of presenting an exhaustive treatment of the German novelle and offers analyses only of certain significant novellen of poetic realism, his scope is necessarily more limited than the impressive work of Johannes Klein or the useful historical, but somewhat pedestrian, book of E. K. Bennett (The German Novelle). An introductory chapter on the history, theory, and distinctive features of the novelle and of poetic realism is followed by eight discussions of notable nineteenth-century novellen: Brentano's Kasperl und Annerl; Arnim's Der tolle Invalide; Droste-Hülshoff's Die Judenbuche; Stifter's Abdias; Grillparzer's Der Arme Spielmann; Keller's Romeo und Julia; Meyer's Der Heilige; Storm's Der Schimmelreiter—and Hauptmann's Bahnwärter Thiel. This last novelle, "a Janus-faced work," Silz characterizes, in a concluding summary, as the beginning of an epoch of pessimism, materialism, and mass humanity which offers the sharpest contrast to the age that came to a close with Schimmelreiter—an age that, in spite of increasing skepticism and an expanding world of realities, never had completely lost faith in the triumph of spiritual values, in the dignity of the salient individual, and in the primacy of ideas.

Adhering to much the same procedure and pattern with each analysis, Silz follows a somewhat eclectic method of criticism, granting in the later essays a greater recognition to the newer forms of criticism. Like a guiding thread throughout is Silz's desire to demonstrate how each author has enlarged the scope of the novelle and taken a significant step away from the traditional form and toward realism. The old theory that the novelle is a close kin of the drama is so congenial to Silz that he draws most of his analogies not from narrative forms, but from dramatic works. Many are convincing, but some seem to this reviewer not too well taken: Bahnwärter Thiel, exemplifying Faust's two souls or Thiel as a man in a sort of Grillparzer triangle; Kasper as a literary forebear of Valentin; Abdias compared with Meister Anton; Barbara's father in Der Arme Spielmann compared to Luise Miller's father in Kabale und Liebe. The preponderance of analogies from German literature, betraying the professor at his lectern, and the paucity of allusions to other literatures weaken the appeal of the book for the English lay reader.

A. M. SAUERLANDER

University of Washington

The English Legend of Heinrich Heine. By Sol. Liptzin. New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1954. Pp. ix + 191. \$3.00.

In reading and reviewing Professor Sol Liptzin's most recent contribution to Heine scholarship—and this compendium of the various interpretations which make up the truth-and-fiction checkerboard of the Heine personality-picture constitutes a positive contribution to that scholarship—one gets the effect of an epic slowly unfolding. It is like many double, triple, quadruple exposures: each picture leaving, so to speak, its negative after-image, only to be succeeded by a momentarily fresher image.

That Dr. Liptzin has spared himself no labor in exploring every source and tributary that has added to the main stream of the English legend (Bildwerdung und -wandlung) of the Heine personality is merely to reiterate his scholarly thoroughness. From first rejection of Heine as "blackguard and apostate" (the pre-Victorian stage) through his idealization as dying martyr, he is viewed in the light of being Goethe's "continuator," then as a Helenist, Cultural Pessimist, Wandering Jew, down to the more recent Heine image of the celebrant of democracy and the World Citizen; one sees them all rise and pass like successive reincarnations.

This "ever-changing legend" gives the reader much enlightenment, some amusement, and, at times, even some discomfort. I was reminded of a personal experience with a Spanish woman in my comparative literature course in Romanticism. In her girlhood she had read Heine's Buch der Lieder in a Spanish translation and had been deeply moved. But, never having read a biography of the poet, she was forced to draw on her imagination to figure out what manner of man this was. "And now," she told me, "I find it so interesting to compare your Heine with my Heine."

Occasionally, in isolated instances, one could wish for even more light and greater detail. So, for example, the (actually fecund) Laurence Sterne influence (mentioned on p. 11) might have merited a footnote in further commentary; and it would be surprising if nothing had been said by English reviewers about Robert Burns as a strong influence upon the early Heine, e.g., of the Traumbilder. The fact that relatively little space is devoted to America need surprise no one; these matters were peripheral. Yet there will someday be a properly detailed exploitation of the impact of Heine on Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman (whose eulogy of the German poet Liptzin quotes), and others. When such studies appear, we hope that Professor Liptzin will be their author. For the present suffices to show that he has delivered a work both brilliant and useful, qui miscuit utile dulci.

HERMAN SALINGER

Duke University

Herder: His Life and Thought. By ROBERT T. CLARK, JR. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. Pp. vi + 501. \$6.50.

Professor Robert T. Clark's Herder fills a long-standing need for an authoritative major book in English on one of Germany's most seminal minds. The man whose rich thought influenced practically all the humanities had, prior to the appearance of this book, hardly been accorded his due in the English-reading world. The relatively brief essays of Alexander Gillies and F. McEachran were obviously not sufficiently comprehensive or detailed to be of much more than initial help to the reader suddenly become aware of, or otherwise referred to, Johann Gottfried Herder. And the number of would-be readers of Herder, who do not read German easily or who do not read German at all, is rather greater than is sometimes assumed by Germanists.

Students of history, particularly of the history of culture or the history of ideas, of philosophy, of musicology, of aesthetics, and, of course, of literature in general are constantly reminded by their instructors and in their other reading that they must consult the work of Herder. Professors of German, who have almost grown weary of mentioning the books of Gillies and McEachran only to be told that they are altogether too sketchy, can now breathe a sigh of relief in pointing out the much more serviceable and vastly more inclusive study by Robert T. Clark. They know that whoever takes their advice to read the new book will be kept busy for at least a whole month.

Clark's *Herder*, while answering many of their questions, will not answer all of them. That is of course impossible and cannot even be the intention of the author. If they are seriously interested in the great German, they will still have to consult Rudolf Haym's two-volume classic on many points for further elucidation. More than that, they will still have to read the works themselves. But

Clark's conscientious study will open the gate to the wonderland that is Herder. The work does more than that; it is a ready, well-informed guide through the expansive realm of one of the most exciting geniuses of the eighteenth century, a century in which there was no dearth of genius.

Clark's Herder is a combination of biography and work-analysis. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage. It cannot do anything like full justice to either. This avowed double purpose of the book is probably also responsible for another difficulty: one is not quite sure to whom the author addresses himself. The general reader, whose legitimate needs appear to be primarily served in this book, will find many passages and some viewpoints which would seem to be of interest only to the specialist. The specialist, on the other hand, is likely to find a good deal of information with which he has been familiar ever since he majored in German in college. This situation is probably quite unavoidable in any long book on a major intellectual figure. Perhaps it might have been more expedient to concentrate more or less exclusively on the general reader, omitting a number of names and facts of significance only to the Germanists, and thus making this important book more uniform in its appeal. This device might also have aided in restricting somewhat the occasionally too luxuriant detail: the main lines of development would then stand out more dominantly and prominently than they do at present.

The book covers a large territory, from the insignificant beginnings in Mohrungen via Königsberg, Riga, and Bückeburg to the more than a quarter of a century sojourn in Weimar with its somehow disappointing end long before the end should have come to so distinguished a mind. We experience Herder's relation to the ruling ideas of his age, his criticism of the contemporary scene, the new points of view he introduced, his reaction to the French Revolution (rather different from that of Goethe and Schiller), and the final provocative struggle with Kant and Kantianism. What emerges from it all is a carefully and sympathetically drawn picture of an objectively prodigiously influential but subjectively profoundly maladjusted man who, doubtless overburdened with official duties of one sort or another and increasing ill health for too many years, did not have the gift of making his peace with the tense situation in classical Weimar. More than a scholar he was somewhat less than a poet. Yet he helped many to a greater understanding of literature and the other arts. Far beyond his formal function as the highest educational and ecclesiastical officer of the duchy, functions he fulfilled with more than ordinary distinction, he was above all one of the great teachers of Europe. In view of his extraordinarily fructifying influence throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, it may not be amiss to designate him not merely as an outstanding praeceptor Germaniae but as a leading praeceptor Europae et Americae.

This is an important book. As Professor Clark himself modestly suggests, it does not replace Haym's work, but it will have to be consulted throughout since it endeavors to correct certain basic shortcomings of Haym's presentation, such as the very vexing problem of Herder's criticism of Kant. The student of Herder now has two major books to consult together: Haym and Clark.

Besides the text of 436 pages there are helpful notes and an extensive bibliography of great value. On the negative side, there are a fair number of misprints.

It is gratifying to note Professor Clark's personal recognition of the basic work on Herder done by the late Professor Martin Schütze of the University of Chicago, who did so much to reorient Herder research and to point out the positive achievements of the man who must be seen not only as the awakener of the youthful Goethe (great as this historic service was), but as a thinker in his

own right. Professor Clark, in seeing beyond Herder the liberator of Goethe and in reëxamining the issue of Herder versus Kant, has done just that; from his book there rises the portrait of a genius eminently worth studying for his own sake.

HEINZ BLUHM

Yale University

THEODOR FONTANE: Briefe an Georg Friedländer. Herausgegeben und erläutert von Kurt Schreinert. Heidelberg: Quelle und Meyer, 1954. Pp. xxiii + 400. DM 19.50.

Kurt Schreinert's edition of Theodor Fontane's letters to Georg Friedländer presents an indispensable addition to our knowledge of the great novelist. Only one-tenth of this correspondence was previously known, and even that in unsatisfactory versions. Now we have gained access to the whole treasure of 276 letters. The replies by Georg Friedländer no longer exist and could not therefore be included. Even Fontane's own letters might have been destroyed, if in 1950 Georg Friedländer's faithful daughter had not saved them in the meager baggage allowed to a displaced person. Schreinert's edition is therefore rightfully dedicated to her memory.

The letters cover the time from August, 1884, when Fontane was sixty-four years old, to his death in 1898. In the summer of 1884 in the Giant Mountains he first met his correspondent, county judge ("Amtsrichter") Dr. Georg Friedländer, the scion of an old Berlin family of intellectual distinction. Friedländer attracted Fontane by his gift of stimulating conversation, and they soon became friends. This friendship was kept alive not only by their correspondence, but also by repeated visits of Fontane to Silesia, by visits of the Friedländer

family to Berlin, by common vacations in Karlsbad.

Friedländer entertained Fontane by his brilliant causeries dealing mainly with the vagaries of Silesian society figures, but always from the broadly human angle of a man of the world. Fontane shared his views and could therefore thoroughly air them in his replies. These letters were seldom jotted down at the spur of the moment; many of them were first drafted and then carefully rewritten. For Fontane was possessed not only of the true artist's sensitivity for outward appearances, but also of the philosopher's inclination to start with the single fact or event and then branch out into the general. He liked to end with sententious maxims which strikingly epitomized his mood of the moment. But in writing them out, Fontane's scintillating temperament was so far from the dogmatic that they often fitted just the one particular case.

The letters are a monument to Fontane's determination to live fully in the present. Again and again he expresses his impatience with antiquated lies and pretentions. He is thoroughly annoyed by the Prussian nobility whose time he believes has passed. He bitterly denounces Prussian militarism and bureaucracy. He raves against a reactionary clergy lacking in real Christianity, and he calls anti-Semitism rabid nonsense. But he equally rejects the new bourgeoisie whose raw materialism lacks taste and culture and gives Germany a bad name abroad. The end of this society he believes near. Yet with all his criticism he is still not a pessimist. He treats the labor movement of his time with respect and finds many commendable traits in the German Jews.

Some expressions in these letters are startling even to the seasoned Fontane specialist, and previous treatments of Fontane's political and social views will

have to be partly revised. No longer will it be possible to misjudge the restraint of Fontane's novels as an attempt to paint a disquieting social situation in a rosy light. The letters make us fully aware of the novels' accusing and skeptical undertones and prevent us from taking occasional nostalgic remarks too seriously. The naturalistic rebels were instinctively right in siding with their older contemporary and in following in his tracks.

The edition itself aims at the greatest possible dependability. No passages of the originals have been suppressed, and no changes have been made in spelling and punctuation. The editor's explanatory notes are a marvel of circumspection and accuracy, considering the deplorable loss and destruction of so much East-German and particularly Silesian material. These notes not only clarify allusions and verify quotations; they also call attention to parallels in other letters and writings of Fontane and thus enable the scholar to read the correspondence critically, clearly differentiating between momentary utterances and basic, often confirmed, attitudes on the part of the writer. And they open a rich mine of information concerning the composition and the intentions of Fontane's later novels (particularly Quitt, Der Stechlin, Effi Briest, and Poggenpuhls) and other writings.

ERNST ROSE

New York University

Nietzsche in the Early Work of Thomas Mann. By R. A. NICHOLLS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Publications in Modern Philology, Vol. 45, 1955. Pp. 119. \$1.70.

Mr. Nicholls' monograph is a useful and lucid one. He traces the impact of Nietzsche on Mann's work from "Der Wille zum Glück" to the Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen. Throughout he rightly stresses that Mann was attracted not by such gaudy doctrines as the superman cult or "Renaissance immoralism," but by subtler and more fundamental aspects of Nietzsche's thought: the dichotomy between "life" and art, the question of nihilism, the underlying ethical concern, and the penetrating psychological insights.

The chapters devoted to Fiorenza and the Betrachtungen, two works often neglected in this country, are particularly interesting. Nicholls does not conceal the weaknesses of Mann's closet drama as a work of art nor the often irritating and self-contradictory nationalistic statements of his "war book," but he shows their importance in the development of the novelist's ideas. He has good things to say on "Tonio Kröger," "Tristan," and Königliche Hoheit—here he suggests that the unhappy Überbein may owe his name to the Übermensch—but I wish he had at least mentioned the earliest section of "Felix Krull." Surely the conception of the artist as liar and trickster is Nietzschean with a vengeance.

A few statements are questionable. Despite Nicholls' remarks on page 104, some of Nietzsche's comments on the Germans are venomous indeed. Werther and Wilhelm Meister are not merely "possible" exceptions to Nicholls' claim that Buddenbrooks was the "first serious German novel to take a place in world literature" (p. 116). Thomas Buddenbrook tended to quote Heine rather than Goethe. Nicholls relates Spinell's letter to Klöterjahn in "Tristan" (published in 1903) to actual and draft letters written by Nietzsche after his fiasco with Lou Salomé (pp. 43-45). Unfortunately he gives as his sources the second volume of Elisabeth Förster-Nietzsche's Life (published in German as Der cinsame Nietzsche in 1913), Podach's book of 1938, and Vol. V of the Gesam-

melte Briefe (1909). If Mann read, or could have read, these or similar letters elsewhere, by 1903, Nicholls should have indicated Mann's possible source. Time may be an illusion, as Mann has himself suggested, but chronology still has its place in scholarship.

This slip would be wholly trivial did it not make one a bit skeptical about the rigor of Nicholls' method. It is the only such slip, however, and his work as a whole is a helpful and intelligent contribution.

HENRY HATFIELD

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Linguistic Atlas of Pennsylvania German. By CARROLL E. REED and LESTER W. SEIFERT. Marburg/Lahn: W. J. Becker, 1954. 2 pp. text; 97 maps.

This linguistic atlas, the first in the field of Pennsylvania German, is a companion piece to Reed's monograph, The Pennsylvania German Dialect Spoken in the Counties of Lehigh and Berks: Phonology and Morphology (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1949). The maps of the linguistic atlas are not limited to the counties covered by the monograph, but illustrate the phonological and morphological variants throughout the Pennsylvania-German speech area. A more comprehensive treatment of the lexical variants than was possible in this atlas is contemplated for the future.

The ninety-seven maps include one showing the colonial counties and one showing the early roads of Pennsylvania. Reed points out the interesting fact that the isogloss bundles of the present day frequently correspond to the early county lines. Further, he finds a striking relationship between the synchronically recorded linguistic data and historical information regarding settlement background. Several maps from the Deutscher Sprachatlas and references to the Deutscher Wortatlas facilitate the comparison of linguistic features of Pennsylvania German with corresponding features of the dialects of the Palatinate and adjoining areas. The legends of all the maps are given in bilingual form in order to make the material more readily accessible to scholars in Germany as well as in America.

In general the findings illustrated by the maps agree with my own observations. There are a few points, however, on which there is a very slight disagreement between Reed's conclusions and mine. The pronunciation \( \bar{a} \) as opposed to \( a \) in such words as bärig "mountain", kärich "church", därich "through" is, I believe, somewhat more widespread than the maps indicate; and the radical vowel ä as opposed to ē in war "were" (subj.), kare "to sweep", arschde "first", etc., is more common in Berks and Schuylkill counties than one would suppose from a study of this atlas. In the case of several lexical variants, the possibility of semantic differences must be considered. In some areas, for example, schmalsfett "lard" (map 70), emer-kiwel "bucket" (72), and wis-schwom "meadow" (80) exist side by side with semantic differentiation. In the case of schibschaufel "shovel" (85), the difference in meaning in the areas where both forms occur is clearly stated. Although the forms kobli and kobche "cup" (75) in general must be regarded as regional variants, there are families in the central area in which both are used. Similarly several of my informants from this central area consistently used Bode in the nominative and accusative cases but Bodem in the dative case for "floor" (maps 36 and 36a). (This may be explained in part as a kind of syntactic assimilation, in which the -m of the article is added also to the following noun: uff'm Bodem "on the floor", but der Bode "the floor".)

It is to be hoped that Reed and Seifert will in the near future make a more intensive study of some of these problems, especially in those areas where there seems to be an overlapping of linguistic features. Quite probably a more detailed map of the Pennsylvania-German speech area will reveal more enclaves and a less intense bundling of isoglosses than the provisional maps (86-90) indicate. Until this expanded, more detailed linguistic map of the Pennsylvania-German area appears, students of dialect geography owe Reed and Seifert a vote of thanks for making the findings of their research in this field available in a form which is not only methodologically sound, but also very stimulating and informative.

PAUL SCHACH

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Dante Alighieri: The Inferno. Translated in verse by John Ciardi. Historical introduction by A. T. Macallister. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1954. Pp. xxvi + 288. \$4.50. Also a paper-back edition: Mentor Books (Ms 113). \$0.50.

The truism that no translation can ever reproduce the work of art is especially applicable to the *Divine Comedy*, the vital integrity of which remains locked, as it were, in Dante's unique synthesis of content and form. The many new attempts to English the *Comedy* during the last few years testify to the abiding search for the translation, an ideal that will continue to elude any translator. Nevertheless, another version of this masterpiece is always welcome and scarcely needs justification. Besides fulfilling their immediate and obvious function, translations have the further value, seldom recognized, of occasionally providing some added insight or illumination even for the specialist.

Mr. Ciardi's version of the *Inferno*, although it may be read with some profit by the scholar, is not manifestly a scholar's translation. It is aimed, rather, at the general, particularly the American, reader. Its merit, therefore, rests primarily on that basis.

The translation comes well equipped, but not overburdened, with the usual editorial aids. A short, general introduction by Professor MacAllister provides useful background material and orientation for the reader approaching the Comedy for the first time. In the body of the work, Mr. Ciardi has furnished for each canto exegetical summaries preceding, and notes following, which are excellent, brief, and to the point. Visual aids are also afforded by five illustrations pertaining to the topography of the Inferno. The verse of the translation, which is iambic pentameter with some variation, is happily arranged in tercets, although the division does not always correspond exactly to that of the original Italian. There is rhyming of the first and third verses only of each tercet, but the rhyme is often imperfect, sometimes only visual, and occasionally reduced to mere assonance. This is not, however, distracting to the reader.

If a translation cannot be expected to give us all of Dante's creation, its relative merit will depend, naturally, on how much it preserves of the exact conceptual content, especially the details of imagery and meaning so important in their cumulative effect in the poetry of so conscious an artist as Dante. Ciardi declares, in a brief translator's note, his concern for recapturing the "tone" of the original through "transposition" rather than "translation" in the sense of word-for-word

equivalents. With that, the reader interested in a faithful, if not literal, rendering may well approach Ciardi's version with misgivings. But the truth is that this is remarkably faithful for a verse translation. It can also be said that Ciardi's verse, by its notable freshness and definite carrying power, frequently does succeed in recapturing something of the tone of Dante's poem.

This is not to say that Ciardi's Inferno is uniformly excellent and acceptable. Although he has been careful to avoid "translatorese" in his choice of language, he has taken liberties, inevitably, with the original text, even adding thoughts and phrases occasionally to round out his verse. For one thing, Ciardi's selection of words may be open to question in one particular respect: his use of the fourletter variety to render certain of Dante's coarser details (in Cantos XVIII, XXI-XXII, XXVIII). The explanatory notes on pages 164 and 187-88 even betray some want of assurance on Ciardi's part, not to mention their focusing attention on the offending, or offensive, words themselves. Now, there is no denying that the details concerned and the poet's blunt expression of them are very vulgar or obscene in the original poem. Dante uses them with quite calculated and morally telling effect: to excite disgust. What one may question is whether the equivalent four-letter words in English, even though employed in the same context, can have universally the same effect, since all will depend on whether the individual reader is capable of accepting such terms in their simple denotative values, without the usual overtones of ribaldry. If so, well and good, for this is exactly what Dante means to say here, and he is very serious about it. On the other hand, these coarser details have been safely and, at the same time, adequately handled by previous translators who did not resort to that risky segment of our language. Another point regarding usage may be mentioned here. Although his diction is plain enough, in keeping with Dante's own, Ciardi's use of words like fleer, fosse, gout, may pack more than a few readers off to the dictionary. Fortunately, such words are rare, it is only fair to add.

As an example of Ciardi's adding of extra words or phrases for the enrichment of his work, the following tercet may be cited:

> We drew near those swift beasts. In a thoughtful pause Chiron drew an arrow, and with its notch he pushed his great beard back along his jaws

Noi ci appressammo a quelle fiere snelle. Chiron prese uno strale, e con la cocca fece la barba in dietro a le mascelle. (XII, 76-78)

The addition of the interpretive and transitional phrase, "in a thoughtful pause," constitutes an elaboration which is risky, particularly from the standpoint of a scholar's translation, but which can be of positive value in a version aimed at the general reader. Furthermore, the rendering

in that sweet season when the face of him who lights the world rides north, and at the hour when the fly yields to the gnat and the air grows dim

nel tempo di colui che 'l mondo schiara la faccia sua a noi tien meno ascosa, come la mosca cede a la zanzara, (XXVI, 26-28)

is an example of free translation equivalent to the incorporation of explanatory notes in the text proper. Again, a violence in the eyes of the scholar, but perhaps one to be appreciated by the lay reader. On the other hand, here is an instance of decidedly unwarranted embroidery in Ciardi's version:

I did not dare descend to his own level but kept my head inclined, as one who walks in reverence meditating good and evil

I' non osava scender de la strada per andar par di lui; ma 'l capo chino tenea, com'uom che reverente vada. (XV, 43-45)

In this tercet, not only is the addition of "meditating good and evil" hardly justified, but in fact the phrase tends unduly to shift the emphasis. Dante is walking with inclined head in order to give his attention to the shade of Brunetto who is moving on a considerably lower level than Dante, and also because the attitude is truly expressive of the pupil's very deep respect and affection for his former teacher. In the double relevance of the figure, so usual with Dante, there is definite and obvious stress on the wayfarer's very real reverence for old Brunetto. In the first tercet of Canto XXXIV:

"On march the banners of the King of Hell,"
my Master said. "Toward us. Look straight ahead:
can you make him out at the core of the frozen shell?"

"Vexilla Regis prodeunt inferni verso di noi: però dinanzi mira," disse 'l maestro mio, "se tu 'l discerni."

Not to speak of the infelicitous punctuation, the "on march" of the first verse is an inexact rendering, while the third verse constitutes an excessive elaboration which impairs Dante's artistic strategy of having us discern the figure of Satan only gradually. To cite a discrepancy of a different order, in Verse 120 of the Ulysses canto (XXVI), it is difficult to see the justification for distorting virtute e canoscenza (best kept as "virtue and knowledge") to "manhood and recognition."

A few other corrections and suggestions might be made. In the notes to Canto I, the interpretation offered of the veltro as Can Grande is an old one which would seem to be superseded by the recent study of Leonardo Olschki, The Myth of Felt. This should at least have been mentioned. The illustration (p. 156) giving the general plan of Malebolge shows the first bolgia (Panderers and Seducers) incorrectly subdivided into two lesser troughs; this bolgia is depicted correctly as a single ditch in the detailed sketch (p. 163). The illustration (p. 171) purporting to show the kind of baptismal font envisioned by Dante in Canto XIX may be correct, but Mr. Ciardi ought to have mentioned the alternative reading of batteszatori (as a reference to the basins rather than the agents of baptism), which is not only just as likely but also more in keeping with the pattern of imagery informing the canto as a whole.

It has long been this reviewer's conviction that the best translation of the Divine Comedy would be a near-literal one in prose, free thereby of the inevitably distorting strictures of verse. Accuracy and beauty have in fact been attained to a remarkable degree in the prose translations of Sinclair and Norton, respectively. But Ciardi's verse rendering has at least shaken that conviction of the necessary superiority of prose, for his translation as a whole is surprisingly faithful to the original. Through happy choice of words and turn of phrase, Ciardi has succeeded in recapturing much of Dante's tone and meaning. His insight into certain passages of the Italian will occasionally please even the

scholar, and his presentation in plain English and very readable poetry should gain new contemporary readers for the poem. It shows that much good can come about when a poet in his own right, armed with the necessary erudition, undertakes to translate a classic such as the *Divine Comedy*.

ANTHONY L. PELLEGRINI

Harvard University

Julian Green and the Thorn of Puritanism. By SAMUEL STOKES. New York: King's Crown Press, Columbia University, 1955. Pp. xiv + 155. \$3.00.

Julien Green is not everyone's novelist; for those who are attracted to his work -and they are surprisingly few, to judge by the paucity of major investigations -there is an interesting consensus of appreciation, but on quite different grounds. Marc Eigeldinger, in Julien Green et la tentation de l'irréel (Paris: Ed. des Portes de France, 1947), centered his thoughtful comment on the fantastic, pessimistic, quasi-visionary elements in Green within the frame of modern realistic practice; Eigeldinger concentrates more profoundly, if briefly, than did Christine Morrow in her sometimes shallow and scrappy Roman irréaliste dans les littératures contemporaines de langues française et anglaise (Toulouse et Paris: Didier, 1941) on the extra-worldly, oneiric qualities in Green, truly "out of this world." This hallucinatory quality is doubtlessly central to the power-a veritable cauchemar-generated within and beyond the confines of Green's stark projections (the techniques that create a profound realization of incredible reality have yet to be thoroughly analyzed); Charles Koëlla's "La Puissance du rêve chez Julien Green," PMLA, LIV (1939), 597-607, is a good study of this wellspring which becomes in Green a strange river.

Now we have two other studies, of about the same length and covering somewhat the same features, but for different purposes. Mr. Stokes believes that Green's "main appeal and significance lie in his spiritual life because it is there his struggles have most meaning for other Christian men" (introduction, p. [ix])—Mr. Stokes is primarily concerned with discussing the religious and dependent philosophical impulsions that motivate Green's literature.

On the other hand, Antoine Fongaro, in L'Existence dans les romans de Julien Green (Roma: Angelo Signorelli, 1954), states that he has tried to avoid philosophical commentaries, while offering incidentally parallels with Kierkegaard (Appendice I): his approach is existentialist.

These studies have each their own recent counterparts: Mr. Stokes's in Volume I of Charles Moeller's dogmatically haranguing Littérature du vingtième siècle et christianisme (Tournai et Paris: Casterman, 1953), Fongaro's in René-Marill Albérès' Les Hommes traqués (Paris: La Nouvelle Edition, 1953, pp. 113-54), although Albérès (pen-name of Marill) carefully stipulates (p. 120) that he is a critical technician and disclaims any doctrinal, i.e., existentialist, intentions.

Mr. Stokes analyzes the nature of Green's Catholicism—its background, its permutations, its elements of Puritanism and of Buddhism. Basing himself on Green's diaries—and some personal interviews with the subject of his study—and by reference to the fiction, Mr. Stokes has been able to trace the courbe of Green's spiritual problems and set forth some of the intellectual, emotional, and religious background of the novels (the recent plays are not within the compass of this work). Written cleanly, clearly, and logically, this indeed affords the reader "a more rounded picture of the religious element basic to his literary

production" and "a better understanding of Green" (p. x). Within its narrow and prescribed limits, it fulfills its purpose, and especially so for the section on Buddhism. Incidentally, the specialized bibliography, somewhat skimpy, might have included Antonio Mor's "L'esperienza religiosa di Julien Green," Studium [Roma], XLIV (Gennaio, 1948), 8-16, and the reference in the bibliography to Albrecht should read: Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology.

Fongaro's study, compact and yet rich in references and asides, examines Green under two main rubrics: "les composantes de l'existence" and "les comportements des personnages." Although the religious ingredients are examined in function of components like the sense of destiny, of solitude, of boredom, and of duration, they are not ignored: no doubt it is unfair to tax Mr. Stokes with having concerned himself with an approach less fruitful than one furnishing more aesthetically significant data; as Mor has pointed out (p. 634) in "Julien Green e la cultura anglosassone," Letterature Moderne, II (Nov.-Dic., 1951), 631-55: "il suo cattolicismo, com 'egli stesso ci avverte [in his Journal, I, 13; April 10, 1929] non lo dobbiamo ricercare nei suoi romanzi, che sono pure, essenzialmente, una testimonianza metafisica." (See too Fongaro, p. 18, for a further insistence on this pervasive and fundamental aspect of Green's fiction, which religious principles contribute to but do not dominate.)

In any case, Fongaro—and Green's work—prove how real, immediate, and personal Green can truly be for readers not seeking him out for reasons of a religious nature. The preference indicated for the latter study, however, is not to disclaim the intrinsic merits of Mr. Stokes's analysis; as for the assurance of success because of the adoption of a formal, doctrinal method of investigation, one has Albérès' perceptive reaction to testify that it is the author—Julien Green—not necessarily a system, who is responsible for creating a sense of envoûtement to which one cannot be impervious.

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Charles E. Feinberg, the Detroit Whitman collector, will serve as editor with William White, assistant professor of journalism at Wayne University. Each number will include an essay, notes and queries, news notes, and a current bibliography—all, of course, on Whitman. Material for the Newsletter should be sent to:

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